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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-015
Thursday
23 January 1992

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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General Medvedev Rules Out Nuclear Misuse

AU2101132592 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 92 p 14

[Interview with Major General Vladimir Medvedev, Commander in Chief of the National Center For Nuclear Risk Reduction of the former USSR, by Jan Zizka; place and date not given: "Nuclear Weapons Are Under Strict Control"]

[Text] The fate of nuclear weapons on the territory of the former USSR is a subject of anxious discussion in the world. Major General Vladimir Medvedev, Commander in Chief of the National Center for Nuclear Risk Reduction at the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the former USSR, answered several questions by our reporter about the nuclear arsenal in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

[Zizka] What are the duties of your center, and what does it deal with at present?

[Medvedev] The Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers were created in Washington and Moscow on the basis of the Soviet-American treaty of 1987. Their main task is to exchange information on nuclear facilities. The centers inform each other 24 hours in advance when a rocket is launched. Our center takes part in organizing inspections. We cooperate with a corresponding agency in the United States. In the last three years, we have accepted 550 American inspection groups on our territory.

[Zizka] Who will participate in the talks on nuclear weapons in the United States in the future?

[Medvedev] This question is currently being discussed. The overall political line regarding nuclear weapons, including the future negotiations, is being discussed. I believe the CIS will find a convenient alternative and decide whom it will entrust with these negotiations. Now I am able to say that Russia—as the legal successor to the USSR, and therefore a party to international treaties signed by the former Soviet Union—will play a leading role. This does not exclude—on the contrary, it presumes—the participation of all other states in the negotiations, if they so wish.

[Zizka] Can Russia's exceptional position with regard to nuclear weapons give rise to pressure by this largest CIS state on other states?

[Medvedev] I do not think that such danger exists. The main part of the nuclear facilities is deployed in Russia. Russia is the former Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, and it has never exerted pressure on other republics.

[Zizka] Beyond the CIS borders, tactical nuclear weapons raise more fears than the strategic nuclear weapons of the former USSR. Do you think that there is any possibility of their being sold to other countries, or even terrorist groups?

[Medvedev] I absolutely exclude any such possibility. In order to reduce anxiety regarding tactical weapons, the CIS states are taking steps to remove tactical weapons from the republics with the goal of liquidating them. You know, for example, that the Ukraine declared that all tactical weapons will be removed from its territory in the first half of 1992. The situation is similar in other states.

[Zizka] To what extent are tactical nuclear weapons under unified command?

[Medvedev] To the same extent as other nuclear weapons. That is, they are absolutely controlled.

[Zizka] Is the control over nuclear weapons really so strict that it is impossible to misuse them?

[Medvedev] Of course. All nuclear weapons are under strict control everywhere.

[Zizka] I would be interested in the fate of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Has it been preserved in some form?

[Medvedev] There are still some armed forces whose fate is being discussed. For the time being, it is impossible to say what the main organs of the CIS and republican Armed Forces will look like. Today, we have a commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces. The apparatus that was formerly the Ministry of Defense remains in place. So does the General Staff of the Armed Forces. The control over army cannot be discontinued.

General Views CIS' Nuclear Weapons Control

PM2301113792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General N. Klokotov, chief of the General Staff Military Academy Strategy Department, by Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin; place and date not given: "From the Geostrategic Standpoint"]

[Text] [Vladykin] The USSR no longer exists. No alliance of socialist countries exists either. It is only natural that their disappearance should have had a substantial impact in changing the political and military situation in the world. Would you be kind enough to tell us, Nikolay Pavlovich, what is the current situation around and within the area previously known as the Soviet Union from the geostrategic standpoint? After all, the principle of countering the "forces of imperialism," on which our foreign policy was based for several decades, has now, by all accounts, lost its point...

[Klokotov] First, I want to draw attention to the fact that sources of war have always objectively existed on our planet and long will continue to do so—as a result of the unfair distribution of material goods and a certain aggressiveness inherent in man. This constantly generates conflicts between individual members of society and entire peoples and countries. Admittedly, 99 times out of 100 they are resolved in a sensible way, on the basis of compromises, without the sides in conflict actually coming to blows. But situations do sometimes arise where conflicts deteriorate to such a point that it is impossible to "settle differences" without the use of arms.

Every country, therefore, regardless of the state system or the political organization of society, lives in conditions of greater or lesser danger. I am talking here about the danger of war as a state of human community in which the potential for the outbreak of war generated by objective contradictions and the potential for its prevention based on human reason exist simultaneously. Disturbing this constant balance in favor of the former eventuality leads directly to the threat of war and war itself.

Given the geostrategic situation of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], we can say that generally it faces in principle the same military danger as did the vanished USSR, since the CIS has basically inherited the Union's territory. The theaters of military operations in the West, South, and East are thus retained. Although the northern sector should not be ruled out either, given the potential for using the air and outer space for military purposes there.

[Vladykin] Does this mean that we should regard the same people as before as likely enemies?

[Klokotov] I do not think that, in modern conditions, it is necessary to single out any state or group of states in any of the sectors as a likely enemy. It is time in general that we stopped using this term and replaced it with the concept of "potential enemy," meaning thereby not the specific army of a real country, but a kind of composite image of the characteristics of the armed forces of the most militarily developed states.

But while allowing for the possibility of a sharp change of situation in a region, we must at the same time have a good idea of the kind of troop groupings we could come up against in that theater of military operations, and be ready to resist them.

[Vladykin] Resist with the unified Armed Forces? But the process of forming separate armies in Commonwealth states, armies which have to tackle tasks in geostrategical conditions different from those common to the CIS Armed Forces, is now gathering momentum.

[Klokotov] If events continue to develop in this way, if we do not stop the destruction of the unified Armed Forces, claims on former Soviet republics could undoubtedly arise in certain neighboring countries. For example, our Transcaucasian and Central Asian states are a great temptation to Islamic states.

There is not a single kilometer of border in the south of the CIS which would be absolutely indisputable in terms of its location. That is the legacy of history, one bequeathed, incidentally, to most countries in the world. For the time being we are reliably protecting the Commonwealth's southern borders. But the reduction of the Armed Forces and their dismemberment, given the unceasing growth in the military potential of a number of Asian countries, could radically alter the situation in those regions.

Nor should it be forgotten that certain Asian states are close to creating their own nuclear weapons. While the unified Armed Forces are retained, those weapons will not, of course, pose a serious threat to the Commonwealth, because an attempt to employ them against us would be suicidal... But otherwise a quite different turn of events cannot be ruled out.

[Vladykin] But the CIS states have agreed to retain the nuclear weapons of the former Union in their joint use and have even agreed to maintain the unified command of the strategic forces.

[Klokotov] Yes, that is so. But tell me, who is to make the political decision to use nuclear weapons and bear responsibility for this?

Previously the USSR president was empowered to do this. Technical facilities enabled him to carry out lightning consultation with the chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet, the KGB, and the foreign and defense ministers, after which an individual decision had to be made. Now the same operation has to be performed by several people in the capitals of the sovereign states. Not only will this take far more time than before, but it is still unknown whether the presidents will reach agreement at the critical time.

[Vladykin] What, then, needs to be done to ensure that the CIS defense system, one inherited from the Union and now in the early stages of inevitable reform, avoids suffering the damage you forecast?

[Klokotov] If our political leaders have enough wisdom and boldness to rise above the arrogant ambition which now infects everyone, they will come to realize the vital necessity of the CIS' having a unified strategic area for the long term. It will not have to be created in any way, because it already exists and only needs to be retained.

Collective defense is being created within this area. The emergence of separate armed forces in the sovereign states does not preclude their unification or the possibility of having a unified command. Let them be under dual subordination—to the republic and to a Main Command specially created in the CIS. And all questions of military building, development, finance, and strategic planning should be implemented in a centralized way with, at the same time, the leadership of each republic enabled to bear full responsibility for the use of its own army.

[Vladykin] But will a situation not arise in the Commonwealth whereby any independent state belonging to it will "sense" a strong suprastate structure above it in the shape of the CIS Main Military Command?

[Klokotov] Definitely not. The Main Command will be subject to and under the control of the Council of Presidents, and the heads of states will be able to make jointly any fundamental decision on the Armed Forces.

Officer Interviewed on Nuclear Weapons Safety

LD2201141592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Jan 92

[From the "Armed Forces and Society" program]

[Text] The rapidly advancing process of disintegration of the unified Armed Forces of the former Union and the acquisition of the property and weapons of the Army and Navy by the newly proclaimed sovereign states has brought into sharp relief the issue of control over the nuclear forces of our once powerful motherland. As a result the issue of unauthorized use of nuclear weapons has recently been causing considerable concern, as has the question of their slipping beyond the bounds of the disintegrated Soviet Union. So how real is the control over our nuclear arsenal today? Our correspondent Vadim Solovev put this question to Lieutenant General Sergey Aleksandrovich Zelentsov, deputy chief of a main directorate of the Ministry of Defense, who is directly involved with the country's nuclear arsenal.

[Begin Zelentsov recording] What I would like to note is that concern about the unauthorized use of nuclear weapons has no basis and is absolutely unnecessary. Our nuclear weapons are isolated and are in a sealed-off state. No one can lift this isolation because to do so requires a knowledge of the appropriate prearranged figures. That is the first level, as it were, of protection from the unauthorized setting off of these nuclear weapons, no matter by whom, a criminal or persons who handle these weapons. That is the first level of security precaution.

Next, after they reach military stores, nuclear weapons are put under an additional level of security. Thus, even if some criminal wished to use them, he would not be able to do so as a number of components which would allow him to work normally have been removed. In this state, these nuclear weapons can be safely transported to central stores, centralized storage places where they await their turn to be destroyed—that is, that part which is subject to destruction. The part that is not subject to destruction will be kept, just as in the United States, until it is needed. This is particularly the case with aviation ammunition, aircraft bombs. The United States acts in this way and we too, act in an identical fashion in this respect. So, no one should have any worries that nuclear weapons could be set off and used by anyone.

Next, there are strict centralized records of these nuclear weapons including the components that allow them to be used. It is impossible to lose them because on leaving the factory every piece of ammunition has its own number. This number is registered in its own log and is traced throughout its life-cycle, starting from when it leaves the factory, arrives in the army, and arrives at troop level. If any component needs to be changed on expiry of its warranty, then there is also a strict centralized record of these components. So it is simply impossible to lose a piece of ammunition. This information systematically and regularly comes into General Headquarters and then to the leadership, from military units. So there is a strict, centralized record of them. [end recording]

Baker Gives Details of Aid to Former USSR

PM2201131992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "The United States Boosts Aid to Commonwealth Countries and Supplies Full Details of Allocated Funds"]

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev and James Baker, leaders of the Russian and U.S. foreign policy departments, have exchanged messages on the eve of the international conference for coordination of humanitarian aid to the peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States. IZVESTIYA's correspondent was informed that the Russian minister described the food situation in the former Union's republics as "serious." He informed his U.S. counterpart that lists of the regions most badly in need of humanitarian aid, identifying the persons responsible for its distribution, have been handed over via the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. The U.S. side has also been given a list of products and medicines which are expected to be in shortest supply.

A. Kozyrev noted that Moscow has welcomed with gratification the U.S. Administration's decision to allocate $165 million in nonrepayable aid to the former Union's population. The minister has suggested joint discussions on the best way to utilize these funds.

In his reply message, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker said that Washington is pleased to supply, on a nonrepayable basis, the listed agricultural produce and deliver it to the former Soviet Union's regions which need it most badly. "I fear," J. Baker writes, "that the public has an insufficiently accurate impression of the full scale of efforts made by the United States to render humanitarian and consultative-technical aid, which is considerably in excess of this individual measure."

The secretary of state goes on to announce that, in addition to the Department of Agriculture program amounting to $165 million, the Commodity Credit Corporation has already supplied the former USSR with credits totaling $3.75 billion. Approximately $3 billion of this sum has been expended, being the equivalent of 18 million tonnes of agricultural produce. In addition, shipments of medicines and other medical products worth more than $25 million have been delivered to most of the new independent states in accordance with the President's initiative on medical aid; 450,000 pounds of food from Department of Defense stocks have been flown into Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Yerevan as nonrepayable aid; the sum of $500 million has been allocated for the destruction of nuclear weapons and the delivery of humanitarian aid; a program for consultative-technical assistance in several spheres, including the power industry, management cadres training, and so on, valued at $5 million, is under way; the sum of $5 million has been allocated for the program for consultative-technical assistance in the food distribution sphere. An amount of $100 million has been earmarked for a broader program for consultative-technical assistance, the U.S. secretary of state writes in his message.

Baltics To Receive Financial, Banking Package

LD2201141292 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1000 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] A delegation of three Swiss finance experts has proposed an aid package to help the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia set up a financial and banking system. The delegation, which began visiting the three states in November told a news conference in Bern that the aid package would cost about 8 million Swiss francs. It said the aid could be taken from an 800 million franc credit Switzerland intends to give to countries in Eastern and Central Europe. The delegation recommended the Baltic aid package be concentrated on four areas—setting up central banks, finance ministries, commercial banks, and a banking control system.

Japan Pledges Emergency Aid to Republics

OW2201173292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Japanese Government has decided to give the Russian Federation and other former Soviet republics an additional 6.5 bln [billion] yen in emergency humanitarian aid (foodstuffs and medicines). The Japanese Embassy in Moscow recalls that the Japanese Government has already given 1 bln yen's worth of humanitarian aid to the International Red Cross and financed all transportation expenses.

The volume of aid to the Russian Federation and other former Soviet republics through the International Red Cross will total 7.5 bln yen.

Shaposhnikov, Dumas Discuss Commonwealth Defense

OW2301130592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1042 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The official part of the Moscow visit of the Foreign Minister Roland Dumas started on Thursday [23 January] morning with a meeting with the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

According to the head of the information department of the Chief Command of the CIS Lieutenant-General Valeriy Manilov, the marshal told the French official that if the joint command and control of strategic forces are preserved, the united armed forces of the Commonwealth can become a reliable guarantee of security in Europe as a whole, not only the CIS.

The military leader informed the French side about organizational problems of related to defence and preparations for a Commonwealth summit on defence in Minsk on February 14 the French foreign minister welcomed the growing defence contacts between his country and the CIS.

Shevardnadze Holds 'Conversation' on Issues

LD2201234792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 22 Jan 92

["Conversation" with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] After the promised interview in Kissinger's presence, we were able to meet Eduard Shevardnadze in the premises of the Foreign Policy Association which he heads. Naturally, the first subject of the conversation was the results of talks with the prominent U.S. political scientist, as well as the discussion of the conception of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting in the summer on the problems of national interests, and the impressions that the scholar and diplomat from the United States formed from his meetings with statesmen and politicians in Russia and other Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] countries.

[Shevardnadze] To put into words the conclusion that he and I reached—events are now developing rapidly, especially so in Europe, and, if one includes the Soviet Union as well, people do not have time to take in everything that is happening. In politics now, the leaders of the states, the leaders of parties and movements, are so absorbed by current problems, by current affairs, and in resolving individual crisis questions and situations that the problems of forecasting do not yet get a look in. And now we think little of what will have happened by, let's say, the year 2000, 2010, and so on. According to our analysis, events will develop so rapidly that if they become uncontrollable by the end of the century we shall encounter again major and serious problems. That is the question we talked about.

[Correspondent] This beginning of foreseeing, predicting, and forecasting is chronically unable, for some reason, to get off the ground, as people usually put it. It would seem that the task is not just for politicians and scholars, but also for some new spheres that are coming into being, similar to your association, to help put this trend on a firm footing.

[Shevardnadze] I personally agree. You know, the state and political practice, the activities that have taken shape over decades, when the significance of forecasting, the significance, for example, of public opinion, and the forming of public opinion were essentially ignored, are now making their presence felt. There was no deep analysis, by and large, and, unfortunately, that practice has not been eradicated during the years of perestroyka. There are serious shortcomings of mine here, too, in this matter. The association, to which I am devoting myself and where fairly interesting people are working, intends somehow to compensate this.

[Correspondent] My interlocutor is being seen, read, and heard in various embodiments and perhaps, unfortunately, least of all as the head of the Foreign Policy Association [FPA]. I do not know who is to blame for this, but, nevertheless, if only in general outline, what is it that the FPA is engaged in and is the information correct, for instance, that it has merged with the Gorbachev Foundation and is simply disappearing, etc?

[Shevardnadze] No, according to my observations it is not disappearing. [smiles] And this is, in my opinion, not quite correct information—simply erroneous information that it had merged with the Gorbachev Foundation. What was said was quite different: We are among the founders of the Gorbachev Foundation. Our assocation—the Foreign Policy Association, the Survival Foundation which is headed by academician Velikhov, the so called Shatalin Foundation—these are three organizations which were the founders, but we just are not ceasing to exist. We exist. Within the framework of our organization centers, centers have manifested themselves—such centers, for instance, as the Center for Political Analysis which includes foreign affairs, foreign policy, and domestic policy affairs, and is headed by former USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh—one more person whom I highly respect as a true professional. [screen caption reads: "Foreign Political Association (FPA)—founded in February 1991. Among the almost 50 founding organizations are: The USSR Scientific-Industrial Union, the U.S. and Canada Institute, the Russian News Agency, the Charity and Health Foundation, and the Diplomatic Academy"]

[Correspondent] The second area, the interlocutor continued, is the work and the interesting collective which ensures the serious study of processes in the ex-USSR from the point of view of the prospects of disarmament. Quite recently an even more interesting—in Shevardnadze's view—center was formed, which studies interethnic conflicts.

[Shevardnadze] Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, the first such conference on problems of integration and desintegration processes in Europe will take place here. [screen captions reads: "The Foreign Political Association is made up of: The Center for Political Analysis (A.A. Bessmertnykh)
[The Center for Strategic Stability (A.G. Arbatov)
[The Center for Ethnopolitical Research (E.A. Pain)
[The Center for Conversion (O.V.Rasnitskiy)
[The Council for Ecological Safety (R.A.Sergeyev)
[The Center for Foreign Policy Ties"]

[Correspondent] A question which greatly worries and alarms all of us—well, as before I am trying to call everyone our compatriots. I do not know what to call us now. By the way, how do you see yourself most of all: as a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] citizen, as a Russian, as a representative of what? On the whole, what is your sense of the world or sense of self?

[Shevardnadze] I have not yet become fully acclimated.

[Correspondent] Perhaps that is the general sense. We are at a crossroads. Of course, becoming acclimated is a very prolonged mental process. Nevertheless, one of the things that causes us very much pain while at the same time giving hope, and generally even joy and expectation, is Georgia. For you the question has of course a special meaning.

[Shevardnadze] On many occasions since last September I had to speak and voice my view on the Georgian situation. What is more, some of my opponents in my homeland have been reproaching me for interfering in Georgian internal affairs. Well, it is their right. It is even good that they are expressing their criticisms. The situation is indeed dramatic, very difficult, and very complex. [video shows soldiers, the injured being taken out of bus, fire]

[Unidentifed voice] Whatever way was used to elect the leaders, Shevardnadze said, they must remain faithful to democratic ideals. But this fundamental principle was violated in Georgia and this prompted other violations such as those of human rights, the rights of ethnic minorities and many other things. What we have on our hands is a crisis in the full sense of this word, and as a result the conflict.

[Shevardnadze] I know many leaders of this movement, the leaders who have now taken office. I think the first steps that have been taken, the first statements made suggesting that in the very near future the Supreme Soviet and other leading structures in that republic, that state, will begin to enjoy truly democratic choices, show I think that Georgia will take a place among democratic states.

[Correspondent] Staying in Moscow for a long time, can you fully sense the throbbing heart of Georgia.

[Shevardnadze] You know, what they are reproaching me for is that I have and have had contacts in the past with representatives of the so-called opposition, that is, people who have now taken office, having allegedly ignored the entourage of the former president. I think this is not true. It is not true because I had contacts with Gamsakhurdia, in particular, with the Supreme Soviet chairman and the foreign affairs minister in the days and at the time when Gamsakhurdia was president. But naturally I also had meetings with opposition representatives. But who are the opposition? These are very well-known activists of culture, literature, art, representatives of young people, heads of individual enterprises. I was very friendly with them and they are my fellow-thinkers.

[Unidentifed voice] As the minister he was told that you cannot enter the same river twice. Yet he did so.

[Correspondent] What mistakes can you admit were made in particular throughout the two periods when you were personally in charge of the ministry. That is one thing. Second, what interesting discoveries and specific interesting aims did you actually manage to achieve so as to tell us about them today.

[Shevardnadze] The first thing is to surmount military confrontation between the West and the East. Is that global or specific, so to speak? I think it is both a global and a quite specific task.

[Unidentified voice] Or take another area, noted the FPA president: relations with Europe, with Germany. It has proved possible to give the people of Eastern Europe and our own country a real opportunity to see that the principle of freedom of choice is not just words but real policy. Then there is Afghanistan.

[Shevardnadze] At the 27th party congress, following large-scale, vehement debates, we reached our political conclusion. But we had already reached this conclusion for ourselves in early 1985, and at the end of 1985 we met the U.S. leadership. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, then general secretary—he wasn't president yet; and I; and Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko took part. We said we were getting out, that we had to get out. It was at the start of 1985 [as heard]. And if we hadn't gotten out of Afghanistan, no one would have believed us, or our principles of new thinking, or our willingness to accommodate, and cooperate with, the West and all other countries.

[Unidentified voice] Shevardnadze then went on to talk about the normalization of relations with China. Was it global or specific? He feels it's both global and specific. As for the giants—Iran, Turkey, Japan, Indonesia, and Brazil—it proved possible decisively to establish new relations with all these states. [screen caption reads: "Aims of the FPA:—Further democratization and humanization of international relations.
[—Development of theory and practice of new political thinking in international relations.
[—Development and analysis of concepts and proposals on the most important foreign policy issues from the country's point of view and on global problems;
[—Development of new approaches and methods of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy."]

[Shevardnadze] What did we not succeed in doing? I think we were late. Perhaps a decision on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan should have been made even earlier, perhaps at the initial stage of perestroyka. But at the same time, society was not ready. I could have made a more solid contribution to foreign economic matters, foreign economic relations.

[Unidentifed voice] Shevardnadze said his third mistake was that while not just foreign affairs minister but also member of the Politburo and Presidential Council—in sum, he held many honors—he had not been sufficiently energetic when economic problems and the Union's socioeconomic system were being examined. He had not been sufficiently energetic. "We rejected the 500-day program without real justification," he said. "I could have defended it then and said something. But the old complexes and principles came into operation, and I wasn't so energetically involved. But we should have switched to reforms at the initial stage of perestroyka."

[Correspondent] Given that we've already mentioned the word "party"—no, don't smile, I am going to ask about something completely different!

[Shevardnadze] But why are you smiling?

[Correspondent] I am laughing for the same reason. I do not want to ask about the party, but another political organization to which you belong—the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

[Shevardnadze] The founding congress of Russia, of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement, will be held literally in a few days. Once the Russian Movement has been formed we shall be able to talk about a unified, orderly system and structure of the Democratic Reform Movement.

[Unidentified voice] The movement's board will meet on 25 January, Shevardnadze said, and there will be a definitive distribution of functions among the cochairmen. I shall probably deal with foreign policy, or perhaps ethnic affairs, within the Democratic Reform Movement. [screen caption shows list of the Democratic Reform Movement cochairmen: Arkadiy Volskiy, Gavriil Popov, Anatoliy Sobchak, Stanislav Shatalin, Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, in Cyrillic alphabetical order]

[Shevardnadze] Relations will be built here on the principles of the Socialist International.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that the essence, the platform or the thrust of the Democratic Reform Movement's activity is, to all intents and purposes, identical with social democracy?

[Shevardnadze] No. The same principles apply in the Liberal International as well. We, the cochairmen, met recently—we held a session, so to speak—and Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev used the words: our Democratic International. And why can't such an international exist within the framework of the Commonwealth? I think that is an apt way of referring to it.

[Correspondent] All the same, how would you sum up the doctrine of the Democratic Reform Movement in a nutshell: constructive support, expression of the opinion of the middle class? How?

[Shevardnadze] I have answered that question effectively. Constructive support is precisely what it is. We could have gone into opposition, say, but we have not.

[Unidentified voice] We have not set ourselves that task, Shevardnadze commented, because although we could pick up political brownie points, say, by criticizing the Russian Government over the problems confronting it, we understand where the source of what is happening now actually lies.

[Shevardnadze] I am very much afraid that democracy might suffer against the background of the high social tension confronting us and all the states.

[Correspondent] The point is, Shevardnadze commented, that forces which are often talked about and shown in your television programs might enter the arena: people who would like to return to the old ways and to revive the old system. This is a fairly serious threat. In the first stage, it was fairly primitive people who entered the arena. Now, though, one has the feeling that serious forces, who are astute and relatively young, are joining that movement, and Shevardnadze sees a serious threat there.

[Shevardnadze] The second thing is a certain complacency of Democrats. They came to power, they were elected, and it looks like they calmed down. I think that the process of overcoming such feelings and such moods is now taking place, but at any rate it has remained to some extent. So I am alarmed at the fate of democracy and democratic movement.

Former USSR Troops Withdraw From Cuba

OW2201195792 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0900 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Quoting a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman in Moscow, the RUSSIAN INFORMATION TELEGRAPH AGENCY reports that troops of the former Soviet Union have begun withdrawing from Cuba. The withdrawal was preceded by protracted difficult talks, which began after Moscow announced its plan to pull out a training brigade of several thousand men from Cuba.

According to Russian diplomatic sources, Moscow and Havana have switched from military cooperation to commercial exchanges.

Cuban Envoy Views Trade, Political Issues

924C0371A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 92 p 4

[Interview with Jose Ramon Balaguer Cabrera, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Moscow, by Andrey Vandenko and Valeriy Yakov; place and date not given: "The Situation Has Become Difficult, But the People Are Not Losing Their Presence of Mind"]

[Text] [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Relations between our countries lost their romantic flair long ago. Things have reached a point where for the first time in recent decades we have not signed an agreement for economic cooperation in 1992. In principle this could have been expected if you take into account the fact that even this year reciprocal deliveries were extremely sluggish. But still, what in your opinion are the prospects for the future?

[Balaguer] Indeed, no agreement was signed for 1992. But tell me, with whom would we have concluded it? But we are continuing to conduct negotiations with the republics and states that used to comprise the USSR and we are analyzing what our economic cooperation could be in view of the changes taking place in your country. We must develop a mechanism for implementing a new agreement, take into account the multitude of nuances, an accounting system... As for the results of our interaction in 1991, they were very small. We received practically no metal or fertilizers from the Soviet Union, deliveries of timber were insignificant, and there was actually no paper or cardboard. We received the food products specified by the agreement only in the first half year, in the second half nothing was delivered to us, and it does not look like deliveries will be resumed. Because of this, the situation in our country has deteriorated seriously, but the people are not losing their presence of mind.

We are now conducting direct negotiations with the independent republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, and the Baltic republics—in order to establish economic and trade exchange and create a new mechanism which would function more effectively. For today we have many problems which would have been difficult to anticipate previously, for example, those related to the maritime fleet, which is necessary for transporting oil. Because it now belongs to both Ukraine and Russia.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] In one of his recent speeches Fidel said that previously for 1 tonne of sugar Cuba received 8 tonnes of oil from the Soviet Union. Now for that same tonne of sugar you get only 2 tonnes of oil. In this connection, do you intend to increase deliveries of sugar or do you plan other forms of settling accounts?

[Balaguer] This seems to show very clearly the evolution of our economic ties. Comrade Fidel cited this ratio in order to make it clearer since in our small and poorly developed country sugar is the only source for obtaining resources. Speaking of the ratio of one to eight, we have in mind the time when the price of oil was still fairly low, as was, incidentally, that of sugar. At that time Cuba needed 5-6 million tonnes of oil a year. According to the bilateral agreement with the Soviet Union, the price of sugar was to increase as the prices of products in the Union grew, and this was one of the forms of recognition of our country and the understanding of the fact that sugar provides our only possibility of trading on the world market. To beat this price down means to put our country in a difficult crisis. Therefore the agreement with the Soviet Union was for us vitally important, necessary, and just. Moreover, one must take into account that in the last six or seven years we have been buying Soviet oil at prices higher than those on the world market. But each year the ratio has changed appreciably, and even last year for 1 tonne of sugar we received only 3 tonnes of oil. This ratio has now dropped to the critical mark: one to one and a half.

The world is now producing 112 million tonnes of sugar. Some 80-90 percent of this product remains in the countries which produce it. For the rest of it a price is set in keeping with bilateral contracts or agreements. As a rule, this price exceeds expenditures on the production of sugar, which stimulates the production of this product and keeps the producer countries from changing the profile of their plantations.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Could you be more specific: How much sugar does Cuba produce today and how much does it deliver to the Soviet Union?

[Balaguer] We are producing about 8 million tonnes a year. In 1991 we delivered 3.6 million tonnes centrally to the Soviet Union, and in 1989 and 1990—4 million tonnes each. At the same time we require 13-14 million tonnes of oil annually.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How truthful are the assertions that Cuba is reselling some of the oil that comes from the Soviet Union?

[Balaguer] That is absolutely false. The fact is that we extract a small quantity of our own oil and we absolutely need the deliveries from your country. Several years ago when, because of droughts and cyclones, we had an extremely small sugar harvest, we bought sugar on the world market in order to deliver it to the Soviet Union and fulfill our commitments. In turn, last year 13 million tonnes were to have been delivered to us but we received only 10. Therefore we had to shut down oil refineries, curtail production, and reduce the use of transportation. We are now negotiating with Russia for the delivery of oil.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] In 1992 it is planned to deliver to Russia a large quantity of Cuban rum—14 million liters. Is this also in exchange for oil?

[Balaguer] No, that is an ordinary trade agreement.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] We have heard that many citrus fruits intended for our country have not been shipped from Cuba because the ships did not arrive for them. Could you clarify what quantity we are talking about?

[Balaguer] More than 300,000 tonnes of citrus fruits intended for your country were not shipped. There were two reasons: First, your ships did not arrive, and, second, we did not receive from the Union the cardboard necessary for manufacturing the packaging. The harvest that year was rich and we could have satisfied your market to a certain degree.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Economic problems are a reflection of political processes. How does Cuba intend to arrange its relations with the independent republics?

Do you plan to open embassies in the new sovereign states, and what will happen to the embassy in Moscow?

[Balaguer] It is difficult to say what will happen to that embassy now because the process of formation of the new Commonwealth is still going on, and it is not yet clear how this Commonwealth will interact with other countries. If the republics establish direct diplomatic relations with foreign countries, we will open embassies. Incidentally, we have established diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics. We are still conducting negotiations on the establishment of direct economic contacts. And now, you know, our country has recognized the independence of all republics of the former USSR, and all that is left is to determine the particulars on a bilateral basis: 80 percent of our trade and economic interests on the territory of the former USSR involve Russia. A large share is taken up by Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan, where our consulates and trade representations are already operating. We are opening them in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan as well.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] We understand that diplomats do not choose partners, but do you not have problems in relations with the Russian leadership, which does not conceal its sympathies regarding the Cuban opposition?

[Balaguer] We have no reason to change our relations with Russia. We think we must preserve the trade, economic, and political ties that have existed for many years, and this should not be influenced by the fact that we have different attitudes toward the so-called Cuban opposition, which is not really opposition but an expression of the interests of U.S. policy.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Do you allow for the possibility that, at the insistence of the United States, Russia might participate in the blockade of Cuba?

[Balaguer] We cannot make such predictions. I know that Yeltsin has never made statements directed against Cuba. He has always been cautious in these assessments, and even during his visit to the United States he was asked direct questions on this subject, and he discussed proposed changes in general, but did not mention Cuba specifically. For us this is an objective fact. We know of the anticommunist trends that have developed in your country, but why should they be reflected in attitudes toward Cuba? We have completely different countries with different cultures, values, temperaments, interests, and norms of living... We have even always had different attitudes toward internal opposition—our opposition leaders have had the opportunity to leave the country, even when they were military leaders who committed treason.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Since our center has ceased to exist, do previous statements by Gorbachev remain in effect for you, particularly those pertaining to the removal of the military training brigade from Cuban territory?

[Balaguer] We do not know how the new leadership handling this problem will conduct itself. As for our attitude toward this problem, it remains the same, and the criteria have not changed. In the first place, we do not agree with the form in which this statement was made. In the second place, regardless of the fact that these are Soviet troops, we object to their withdrawal as long as an American military base is maintained in our country against our will.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] We know that there is a Soviet electronic tracking station on the territory of Cuba—our largest station abroad. The Soviet press is saying nothing about it although the whole world knows of its existence. In Cuba we have heard that in the event of the withdrawal of the training brigade the Cubans will insist on eliminating the station, in whose preservation, of course, we are interested.

[Balaguer] That is not true. We are discussing only the question of the brigade because it was the only thing mentioned in Gorbachev's statement. We will not confuse the one with the other since they are completely different questions.

From the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA File

With all our respect for Jose Ramon Balaguer, the editorial staff of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA cannot but comment on certain of his statements.

An issue that is delicate and painful for both sides are the many years of Soviet aid to the Castro government. Of course, the Cubans will never recognize the truth of astonishing data which have long figured in analytical summaries and the world press. Nonetheless, until quite recently from year to year 40 percent of the funds the USSR has spent on aid to foreign countries has gone to Cuba. According to an estimate that has been confirmed many times, this has amounted to from $5 to $6 billion a year. One telling equivalent: The volume of this aid was equal to 10 percent of the USSR budget deficit. And another thing: These subsidies comprised up to 25 percent of the Cuban gross national product. Just the official indebtedness of Cuba to the USSR is $20 billion. The subsidies have been both direct and indirect. The indirect aid consisted of the extremely elevated prices—by a factor of 2.5—as compared to world prices, at which the USSR purchased Cuban sugar and equally reduced (since trade was conducted through exchange) prices at which the Union sold oil to Cuba.

Let us clarify that the "sugar-oil" comparison is not very typical on the economic plane. One way or another sugar has been overproduced in the world, and the Union has been the only large importer of it, buying up to 5.5 million tonnes a year from Cuba. There was a deliberate sacrifice in this too: In order to buy that much sugar, long ago the country sharply curtailed its own sugar industry. And oil, as we know, is a very marketable item. For those 13 million tonnes which the Union sold to Cuba under ultra-beneficial conditions we could have found dozens of buyers at the real price. At the same time, if the USSR had not bought sugar from Cuba, there simply would have been nothing to do with the 8 million tonnes the country produces: If that quantity had simply been dumped on the world market it would have been destroyed—for that sugar which Castro sold to the USSR gave Cuba more than 50 percent of all its hard currency revenues.

The ambassador also denies the repeatedly attested-to and confirmed fact that approximately 30 percent of the oil delivered from the USSR to Cuba went for export—for sale to third countries. That is, this was another disguised form of subsidy. The argument of the esteemed ambassador: "We extract a very insignificant quantity of our own oil, and we need the deliveries from your country very much." But, according to existing data, Cuba did not have to sacrifice itself for this oil: 30 percent of the oil for re-export was written in to the delivery volumes.

Nor can we agree with the esteemed ambassador when he moves from the economic to the political sphere and, asserting that everything is all right here, speaks, in particular, about the regime's loyal treatment of its political opponents: "Our opponents have always had the opportunity to leave the country, even when they were military personnel who had committed treason." One might ask if the hundreds of Cuban political prisoners who have been through the basements of Villa Marista, the Lubyanka of Havana, and the island's jails, if they agree with the ambassador's statement. For example, those military personnel whose "treason" consisted in that even in the first years after the revolution they expressed disagreement with the regime of Castro's personal power and the proclaimed course toward socialism which was a surprise to everyone. For this the legendary commandantes, Castro's former comrades in arms Huber Matos, Rolando Cubela, Gutierrez Menoyo, Mario Chanez, and others spent 20 and some even 30 years in jail. One can ask one of the latest victims of the regime about his—poet Maria Elena Cruz Valera, who was taken and beaten by thugs from the "rapid reaction brigade" and then thrown into jail for her legal protection activity.

Questions also arise in connection with the interpretation of the question of withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade and military specialists from Cuba. What is the connection between the Soviet brigade and the American base at Guantanamo? The latter has existed on the territory of Cuba since 1903 and apparently it will continue to exist there until the lease runs out.

Turkey Ready for Cooperation With CIS States

LD2301102492 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister of Turkey Hikmet Cetin stated his country is interested in developing cooperation with all the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. Turkey was the first country to establish diplomatic relations with Azerbaijan. It also intends to have them with Armenia and Georgia soon.

The minister also said Turkey is prepared to be a mediator in the bloody conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh.

'Common Market' Suggested

PM1601095792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 92 Morning Edition p7

[Correspondent Vladimir Khovratovich report: "'Turkic Common Market' Forming"]

[Text] Moscow—Turkey, which has been trying unsuccessfully to become a full member of the European Community for several years now, has decided to head another "common market." In addition to Turkey, it will include the so-called Muslim republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

This was reported by the Turkish newspaper MILLIYET. Could Ankara's decision be described as unexpected? No, it is enough to recall a few facts.

First, two years ago Turkish President Turgut Ozal put forward the idea of cooperation among countries in the Black Sea region. It was proposed that Bulgaria, Romania, the USSR, and Turkey would form a single economic space along the lines of the Common Market, for example. But the breakup of the USSR and instability in the other two states have not given the Turkish reformer's idea much of a chance so far.

Second, why is Ankara so favorably inclined toward the changes taking place in Azerbaijan, the Central Asian republics, and Kazakhstan? The answer is obvious: Because of their similar, shared linguistic and cultural traditions. If you remember that the Seljuk Turks arrived in the territory of the dying Byzantine empire from Central Asia, you can understand their descendants' interest in the land of their forefathers. That is why Turkey has been happy to welcome the Kazakh, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Kyrgyz presidents.

Taking all this into account, it is not hard to imagine that an economic community of the former Soviet republics led by Turkey looks very promising. Ankara is already planning to introduce a common identity card in these countries, which will allow their citizens to move freely and—most important of all—trade freely throughout the Turkic "common market."

It is possible that the Organization for Economic Cooperation, which includes Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, will form the basis of the new community. It is proposed that the "Muslim republics" of the CIS initially become members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation. Turkey has already suggested to Tehran and Islamabad that they admit Azerbaijan to this organization. However, Pakistani Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Sartaj Aziz has advised "not wasting time" but allowing Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan also to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation at the next session, in early February.

Admittedly, there has still been no response from official Tehran to the appeals of its partners in the Organization for Economic Cooperation. It is aware that Turkey has "worked hard" on the leaders of the "Muslim republics" in the CIS, placing the emphasis on economic and cultural cooperation rather than Islamic cooperation. It is with regard to Islam that Ankara's interests do not quite coincide with Tehran's, because, as Turkish Minister of State Akin Gonen said recently, the Turks are "fed up" with the activity of their own Islamic fundamentalists.

If plans to form a Turkic "common market" are implemented, we could soon witness the birth of a new "commonwealth" on Russia's southern borders. We must hope that its formation will be discussed in the context of the development of relations between the aforementioned states and the other republics in the CIS.

Reports of Imprisoned U.S. MIA's Examined

92UF0446A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, 15 Jan 92 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Simonov: "A Million for a Captured American. Is It True that the U.S. MIA's Are in the GULAG?"]

[Test] The stamp says "Top Secret." And how!—it is an encrypted message from Saigon. The date is 30 April 1971. Subject of agency report: "Facility in the Province of Vinh Pu used for interrogating American pilots and the presence of Soviet and Chinese personnel at this facility."

Plenty of lines blacked out with a greasy black felt-tipped pen—indelible, of course, and impossible to remove with chemicals. There is no reason for history to know the names of the CIA agents. But the sense of the encrypted message is clear—from 1963 through 1967 in the premises adjacent to the Vietnamese superphosphate plant there had been interrogations of captured Americans. Our Soviet inquisitors were there....

A scene from the unforgettable "Rambo" immediately comes to mind. Do you remember the two blue-eyed Russian majors who tortured Sylvester Stallone in Vietnam? They hook up the voltage to his most sensitive parts? For a long time it seemed to our press that this was propagandistic Sovietophobia and indecently false. Now the declassification of the encrypted message convinces us: Something like that did happen, our majors did interrogate American captives, although probably without using the method of "electrification of the entire spine." It just might be that the further we dig into the archives, the worse the picture becomes.

I was shown the copies of the declassified encrypted message by Jim Atwood, an American collector of World War II memorabilia and a good friend of mine. Jim is not a poor person, and he would be glad to buy a tank from those times for museums in the United States if, of course, it were good for anything. So I was not surprised when he named the sum of $10,000.

"I am prepared to pay this much to everyone who digs up documentary evidence about even one American prisoner of war in the Union. That is, in our Commonwealth. If anyone discovers such an American who is living, then—Jim let his words drop in a dull, businesslike way, without any dramatics—"a million dollars. I know people in the States who would pay a million in that case."

"A prisoner from which war?"—I clarified.

"Any...Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea. A million dollars. World War II. Also a million. After the events in Indochina the Pentagon is unable to account for 2,400 Americans. They are not to be found among either the dead or the living. They are missing in action. In the States today more and more people are talking about the possibility that they might show up in your country, the Union."

"Those kinds of rumors have been circulated in America before. Are there any new facts?"

Atwood showed me another Xerox copy. From the same series of recently declassified materials that had been stored in the National Archives in Washington. There they had discovered 51 documents under the general title "American Citizens Captive in the USSR." What is this? This is a nod from American intelligence and their diplomacy to their soldiers who are lost in the expanses of the GULAG archipelago. Someone may have been incarcerated with an American in a concentration camp barracks near Tambov. Someone could have tapped out codes on the walls of adjoining cells in the Lubyanka and found out that the other person was an American. Someone maybe stood at a railway stop on the Siberian-Manchurian border and saw them take a group of prisoners, including many negroes, onto the platform out of a train headed for Siberia. For decades U.S. intelligence centers and embassies throughout the world have been hunting for bits of information like these. A dispassionate computer in Washington draws up the lists. There is a certain kind of proud patriotism in the fact that the life of an American citizen, his memory, even just his name has always been for this country a piece of information just as desired as any Kremlin secrets. If not more so.

I held in my hands a little page from one of these lists. My first thought was: What about in our country, is there anybody here who is racking his brain to bring together all that is known about our boys who might some day return from Afghan captivity? Is anybody compiling this kind of register of hope:

When seen	Whom	Where
7/1948	Lieutenant Pfeiffer	140 kilometers southeast of Tayshet
8/1951	Captain Robert Davis	Prison in Moscow
9/1953	Captain Sing Oysman	Prison in Vladimir
12/1950	Major Roberts	Name written on the wall of a prison cell

Traces of World War II...This war never left too painful a scar on the American public psyche. Moreover, from 1945 through 1947 the Soviet Union returned to the United States—I am quoting from their sources—22,429 Americans. Those whom we had released from Hitler's concentration camps or taken captive if by some caprice of fate they had been fighting on the German side.

But then there is the war in Indochina! Like a skeleton coming out of a closet, it tumbles into the hands of each new American administration. Veterans' organizations are always grumbling at Washington for deliberately concealing known facts about those missing in action. They are not looking for them energetically enough and they are not helping to get them out so as, God forbid, not to admit their helplessness or cause harm to some official interests in Hanoi. And now to Moscow.

Recently, on 5 December of last year, 92 senators sent a letter to Yeltsin requesting access to the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other services. In general, they could answer in a friendly way once and for all: Were we or are we to this day holding Americans captive in the GULAG. Yeltsin has not said anything so far—apparently he has more important things on his mind.

But what is the source of the wave of hope placed in Moscow?

It seems that it was largely generated by the book *The Bamboo Cage*, which was published in London not long ago. Its authors, Nigel Cosorn and Leo Cooper, put forth the version that KGB and GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate] not only interrogated American pilots shot down over Vietnam but actually took them to the USSR. Why? In order to figure out there, say, the latest American military equipment. In particular, the F-11 fighters—at that time this was the very latest thing.

"Aircraft shot down with the minimum possible damage could be sent to the Soviet Union practically whole and preserved," say the authors. "But the Russians needed the pilots as well so they could show them how the systems worked...After they managed to make these people inclined to cooperate, they sent them to Alma-Ata, Novosibirsk, and Baku—where the most important military facilities in the USSR are located."

"The Bamboo Cage" might not have produced such a stir if its arguments had not been supported—at least that is how it seems to many—by Oleg Kalugin. In an interview for the LOS ANGELES TIMES MAGAZINE and the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, the KGB major general admitted that his colleague had indeed interrogated American captives in Vietnam.

I called the person who stirred up the sensation.

"Oleg Danilovich, you seem to be one of the originators of the theory that there were or are U.S. citizens in our GULAG. The American newspapers are getting jittery and have already upped the number to 20,000."

"Nonsense. If there is even one political prisoner in jail here, the whole country knows about it."

"But the KGB interrogated them. Those are your words."

"Before 1978 there were no agreements for cooperation at all between our service and the Vietnamese. There were no contacts. After that we really were permitted to conduct interrogations, and we traveled to Vietnam. Some interesting people ended up there. People of high rank. One CIA agent even....

"Did you take them to the USSR?"

"What did we need them for?"

"As technical consultants—then in order to recruit them. You could offer them a job spying for us somewhere. The newspaper KOMMERSANT has already sniffed out one such turncoat who is still counted in the United States as missing in action. It turns out that he is working for the good of his second homeland. He is supposedly some American pilot who was shot down over Vietnam in 1967."

"I doubt that. Actually, we did try to recruit three people there, but without success. In general it seems to me that this campaign with the Americans in the GULAG is the same kind of phony fabrication as the story of the KGB being in on the attempt on the life of the pope in Rome."

"Why do you think this campaign is not dying down?"

"Hypothetically speaking, there are some kind of domestic, specifically American reasons."

It seems that Kalugin is right. These reasons or, rather, new incentives were, among other things, the documentary film of the American branch of the BBC, "We can keep you forever" and a completely new program of the KIRO-TV station in Seattle. In both cases the main witnesses were analysts of the National Security Agency (NSA), that is, the U.S. technical intelligence, Jerry Muni and Terry Minarsin. Their task included using the most refined radio systems to intercept all signals and conversations on the air in Vietnam. The main target of the radio hunt was information about downed American fliers.

Muni compiled a list of 300 pilots who, he is convinced, are still alive and have been taken captive. But in March

1973 when Hanoi returned 591 Americans—the so-called "Homecoming Operation"—only 12 people from this list were among them. Where are the rest of them?

"Beginning at the end of 1977, somewhere in the middle of December 1977," says Terry Minarsin, "we started registering air trips from various parts of the country that delivered to Hanoi POW's who had been selected by some special means. They were brought there to be turned over to the Russians so they could be sent from Hanoi to Moscow."

Minarsin draws this risky conclusion on the basis of an analysis of the radio conversations in the Vietnamese language, which he knows perfectly. Moreover, this 42-year-old NSA sergeant has no doubt that from December 1977 through January 1978 at least 22 American pilots and experts in aviation equipment and electronics were sent to Moscow from Hanoi.

That is all I found in the file of documents Jim Atwood showed me. But it was apparently enough to bring about a new tide of hope among the families of the Americans who have been waiting for a more than a decade their loved ones to emerge from nonexistence. And now from the GULAG.

Time, of course, will solve this mystery if it really does exist. Since our humanism and political responsiveness have leapt to such heights as to turn over to Washington the plan for the "bugs" in the American Embassy, it would be a sin not to help in the search for the archive documents and the living people as well. To be sure, I, like Oleg Kalugin, find the latter improbable.

Incidentally, will they find evidence of other kinds of treatment of foreign POW's? Especially torture and torment which are generally so abundant in our camps? Hardly. They say the GULAG for them is no more like the GULAG for us than the hard currency Berezka is like the microrayon department store.

The tape cassette whirs. A certain Petr Kornilovich—we will skip his last name—now a talkative 73-year-old veteran, at one time a zone chief in international camp No. 64 for POW's in Morshansk, tells of their daily life at that time. In 1945 they had officers and enlisted men of more than 20 different nationalities there. There were 4,000 Japanese alone; Petr Kornilovich, incidentally, was in charge of the Japanese.

A couple of striking episodes from his story. The prisoners were fed so well that their unspent energy was devoted to sports—twice a year in the camps they played a football tournament. The Japanese arrived for their sentence with their own provisions and warm winter gear. They were magnanimously allowed to bring to the camp some of their more valuable trophies, in particularly several pianos. As for the Italians, they annoyed the camp guard with their perverted gastronomic tastes—they all tried to bring frogs into the zone. They had to search out the gourmets.

Of course, there were deprivations as well. You yourself understand that you cannot be in captivity without them. "The Japanese all demanded toilet paper," recalls Petr Kornilovich, "but we ourselves and our children in school had to write on newspapers..." Nonetheless, that poisoned relations between the captives and the supervisors. "For Christmas the Japanese gave me a swatch of wool for a suit, and they gave my wife a Japanese kimono."

Petr Kornilovich did not meet any Americans or in general any English-speaking captives in the camp.

A cassette with this curious recording was given to me to listen to by Yuriy Smirnov, a Russian parliamentarian and chairman of the subcommittee for POW affairs. He was in the States recently, adopted their practice, and plunged right into the maelstrom of the debate about whether the campaign around the "Americans in the GULAG" has any basis or whether it was fabricated. He was not so impressed by the subject bothering America; he was struck by the unity of what would seem to be a variegated, multilayered society in this passionate, almost violent desire to find and immortalize the memory of their soldiers who have not returned from foreign lands. Even if it was an unjust war. Incidentally, is there such a thing as an unjust war for soldiers?

Of course, our losses and theirs are not commensurable. But still it is terrible to think about it: A half century has passed since the time of the Patriotic War, and the once great power winner did not have the strength or perhaps the conscientious ardor of spirit to bury in a human way hundreds of thousands or perhaps even millions of their soldiers. On Yeltsin's desk is an ukase which is about to be published: "On Immortalizing the Memory of Russian Citizens Who Died in the Performance of their Constitutional Duty of Protecting the Homeland." So many good intentions—to publish a Book of Memories, to breathe energy into the search movement, to put the military cemeteries in order....

That is sometime in the future. And today? "Everything has become so distorted in our country," Yuriy Smirnov tells me, "that people look mainly for money in everything, even in the sacred places for soldiers. Take one of our seekers, our so-called young conscience—you will see many of them in Izmaylov—they sell crosses and military medals for hard currency there. From the grave to the store. The Book of Memory is used for bookkeeping. Or the burial mounds near Tambov. Incidentally, prisoners of various nationalities are buried in these mounds. The local authorities have ennobled one of the hills and it is here where 'Sputnik' appeared. We will bring tourists here and take their money from them. While right next to it there are open shafts and bones lying around..."

It is not so bad, Yuriy Alekseyevich, if they are just lying around. On the wasteland near the village of Vladychino in Volokolamskiy Rayon in Moscow Oblast there is a large fraternal grave. Approximately 700 Red Army men and peasants are buried there. The villagers themselves buried them and they remember. Briefly, the wasteland was not serving any purpose—this is from the standpoint of the local authorities. They went there and, saying to hell with the protests of the old timers who remembered, built...a manure pit.

There is a slice of our morality. A facet of mortality where one can clearly see our society's attitude toward man.

"Well," the reader will say, "you found something to compare. It is easy for an ultra-rich country to be generous to the memory of their soldiers. All of a sudden they have promised a million for an American, dead or alive...."

P.S. After this article had gone to press, Oleg Nechiporenko, a former KGB worker, clarified the information that had been received, including by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, from General Kalugin. Nechiporenko spoke only in passing with only one American in Vietnam, and that was in 1973. But there is no possibility that three were interrogated in 1978, he asserts.

Kalugin, in turn, doubted Nechiporenko's statements, which were made, in his opinion, "after consulting with his former superiors."

It is good that we know for sure: Both of them worked for our intelligence.

Commonwealth

Leaders To Confer on Military Issues 14 Feb

LD2301093892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] The heads of the independent states of the Commonwealth will be discussing a package of documents on military issues at a meeting in Minsk, capital of Belarus on 14 February. The documents have been prepared by the High Command of the Commonwealth Armed Forces. They include a draft agreement about a single defense budget.

Russia's share in the Commonwealth military spending will be 62.3 percent this year, the Ukraine will have a 17.3 percent share, and Kazakhstan 5.1 percent. According to Lt. Gen. Leonid (?Vashov) the defense budget will be safely oriented [as heard]. More than 60 percent of all defense spending will go to the upkeep of the Army and Navy.

Baltics

Agenda for Assembly Session on 25 Jan Approved

OW2201183092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1452 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The agenda for the first full-scale session of the Baltic Assembly, scheduled to take place in Riga on January 25, has been approved. Reports from Riga say that the assembly will open at 11:00 with speeches by the heads of parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. On the first day a chairman of the assembly's presidium and a secretariat will be approved.

The session will discuss documents necessary for admission in the Nordic Council. Particular attention would be paid to the economic cooperation of Baltic republics.

At the end of last week the conference of representatives from the Baltic countries decided that a representative of the host country would be elected the Baltic Assembly's chairman.

On January 25 there is going to be a meeting of the assembly's presidium, its external economic ties committee, [words indistinct] the former USSR, the commanders of frontier guards and Baltic Fleet delegates.

Baltic States Discuss Opening Investment Banks

OW2301002492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1942 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Deputy General Director of the Estonian Department of External Relations Antt Kirikal says Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are planning to open investment banks.

In the meantime the man appointed to head the future investment bank of Lithuania, Vytautas Dudenas, says the three Baltics may set up a unified investment bank.

On Tuesday [21 January] experts of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Ministries of Finances and the European and the Nordic Councils met in the Latvian Ministry to consider this possibility.

Military

Ukraine Withholds Russian Supplies to Fleet

LD1701201492 Berlin ADN in German 1333 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—The Ukrainian Defense Ministry is withholding fuel and food supplies from Russia to the Black Sea Fleet, a high-ranking member of the Russian military claimed, speaking to the Moscow news agency INTERFAX today. Members of the Ukrainian military are declaring arriving deliveries Ukrainian goods. In addition, a news blackout had been imposed in the area around Sevastopol, where the largest part of the fleet is anchored. It has been impossible for several days now to receive the central radio and television programs of the Commonwealth broadcast from Moscow. [passage omitted]

Chernavin Remarks on Fleet, Retaining Plant

LD2201215192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Interview with Navy Commander in Chief V. Chernavin by correspondent Loyter in Severo-Dvinsk on 22 January; from the "Vesti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Loyter] Every town has its visiting card. Severo-Dvinsk's is the Northern Engineering Enterprise from where the most modern atomic submarines are launched. The enterprise possesses a unique plant whose equal it would be hard to find anywhere in the world. To avoid losing skilled experts and destroying the most advanced technology, Vsedoromash has devised a program of conversion whereby apart from submarines, it will be possible to built large tankers, ocean-going dry cargo vessels, and giant oil rigs. This does not just depend on the heads of the labor collective. A government program is needed. The Navy is concerned about the destiny of the enterprise.

[Chernavin] The situation is difficult and serious but we are nevertheless optimistic and are taking measures so that the plant is maintained so that the scientific and technical progress is not lost and so that people can have confidence in their future.

[Loyter] You know, everyone has been worrying because of the situation that has taken shape around the Black Sea Fleet. What is the situation to date?

[Chernavin] That question has not yet been resolved. We naval men think Ukraine's claims to the Black Sea Fleet are unfounded. Russia, too, played a far from minor role in the establishment of the fleets, including the Black Sea fleet, and today not a single person apart from a few other troop formations has taken the oath to Ukraine. I am in favor of a calm, well thought out resolution of this question by civilized means and not by any methods which cannot come up to the level of development of our state.

Mironov Says Russia Controls Armed Forces

OW2201234092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1942 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [21 January] the commander of the Northwestern Group of the formerly Soviet Armed Forces General Valeriy Mironov told newsmen in Riga Russia had assumed control of the formerly Soviet Armed Forces, including forces in the three Baltic republics. He had no formal document, however, to confirm this.

The general stressed the Army retained control of its property. And he said he had opened a special bank account to foot the financing of social programs designed to help servicemen of his group outside the Baltics.

General Mironov felt Latvia and the Russian Federation must coordinate their defense strategies. The military facilities that remained in the Baltics when Russia started withdrawing its troops, say, the radar station in Skrunde, must acquire a special status.

The general felt it would take Russia at least five years to withdraw all the troops from the Baltics. It would be up to the Russian and Latvian governments to negotiate the time element.

Results of All-Army Officers Assembly Observed

Manilov at News Conference

PM2201125692 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin on 20 January press conference by Lieutenant General V. Manilov, chief of the Armed Forces Information Directorate: "Protecting the Man in Uniform"]

[Text] At the routine news conference on 20 January for Russian and foreign journalists, Lieutenant General V. Manilov, chief of the Armed Forces Information Directorate, spoke about the results of the All-Army Officers' Assembly.

He noted that this representative forum of cadre military personnel identified the task of averting the danger inherent in a one-sided, artificial, hasty, and ill-considered dismemberment of the Armed Forces and preserving a single defense area on the territory of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries and unified control of the strategic and nuclear potential. This was stated quite firmly at the meeting.

It is not a question of the officer corps coming out against the creation of national armies, Gen. V. Manilov explained. Reckless privatization of military equipment, arms, and property and the sharing out, without prior consultation, of the common assets created over many decades by all the peoples of the former Soviet Union are unacceptable. This could set different groupings of the officer corps against each other. To avoid that danger, a transitional period of two to three years is needed, during which, on the basis of political decisions and the coordinated formulation of legislative acts, units of the unified Armed Forces will be transferred to the independent states of the Commonwealth so that they can create their own armies.

In this context the question of the future of the Black Sea Fleet was broached. That section of the Fleet (more than two-thirds of it) that is classified as belonging to the strategic forces should remain under unified naval command. The remainder will be handed over in a civilized manner to the Ukraine, which, as a maritime country, needs to protect its territorial waters and coastline and prevent smuggling. The section that is handed over will operate under the Ukrainian flag.

The question of creating Russian armed forces is not yet under consideration. But disintegration processes within the former USSR and the emergence, in the new independent states, of their own armies could, V. Manilov noted, bring the need for such action onto the agenda. And then the officer corps will have to reckon with this political fact, although it does not consider this the optimum path, because of its high cost. After all, the unified defense systems of control, communications, cadre training, infrastructure, and so forth would be broken up.

It was noted that the position of the All-Army Officers' Assembly on this question coincided with the position of the president of the Russian Federation. In fact, according to Lt. Gen. V. Manilov, over about the last 18 months there has been an increasing process of strengthening trust and mutual understanding between the officer corps and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who pursues a strategic line that meets the vital interests of the defense of the Fatherland. Here a significant role was played by the fact that the degree of attention devoted by the Russian president to the problems of social and legal protection of servicemen has been increasing recently.

The chief of the information directorate then singled out the following fundamental points.

It is the position of the entire officer corps that there will without fail be a political solution on the withdrawal of CIS Armed Forces units and formations from the Baltic states. But this must take place as a result of agreements on the parameters and timetable for the withdrawal and on the conditions for billeting the troops in their new areas of deployment and providing the servicemen with housing.

Attempts to forcibly "squeeze" the troops out of certain places or to privatize and seize weapons and military property will be resisted. Admittedly, it was noted that even in cases where weapons could legitimately be used to protect Armed Forces property and servicemen's lives, unfortunately the commanding officers do not always show firmness and resolve.

There was also discussion of the question of conferring the highest officer ranks under the new conditions. Formerly the USSR president did this. Soon, apparently, the rank of general will be conferred by the presidents of the independent states in coordination with the commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces. For officers, the republic defense ministers will do this, on the same basis. Coordination is necessary solely in order to ensure compliance with a common scheduled number of posts and the maintenance of a common organizational and manning system for the transitional period.

All these questions will naturally come under the scrutiny of the community of officers. In order to give concentrated expression to the opinion of cadre military personnel, the Coordinating Council of Officers' Assemblies is being set up. It will coordinate activity to ensure the rights of the man in uniform and protect his interests, honor, and dignity and summarize the mood and reflect the condition of the officer corps so that these factors are taken into account by politicians and leaders of sovereign states in forming policy in the defense sphere. The Coordinating Council will have no other powers.

'Futile Attempt' To Revive Union

OW2201224292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The All-Army Meeting of Officers last week was held untimely [as received], the chairman of "Shchit", the Association for the protection of active and reserve servicemen, Vitaliy Urazhtsev, said at a press-conference on Wednesday [22 January]. The meeting did not have legal powers and involved violations of law and democratic procedures, he added.

Mr. Urazhtsev described the meeting as a futile attempt to revive the last remnant of the Soviet Union. He said delegates to the meeting were elected undemocratically, stressing that half of the officers present at the Kremlin Palace had the rank of at least colonels. The "Shchit" leader was of no high opinion for the meeting's results, warning that to try to draw the Army into political intrigues and to transform it into a separate political force was inadmissible. The Army now is the main source of insecurity in Russian society and may threaten to start preparing a new coup, he said.

According to data presented by "Shchit" at the press-conference, over 10,000 servicemen die yearly in the Armed Forces and up to 40,000 get disabled.

Administrator Outlines Minsk 14 Feb Agenda

LD2201151992 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Russia agreed to finance 62.3 per cent of the Commonwealth military budget this year, according to preliminary estimates, a senior CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] military official told TASS on Wednesday [22 January]. Ukraine will be paying 17.3 per cent, while Kazakhstan - 5.1 per cent. Other states will allocate even smaller funds, Chief Administrator of the CIS Armed Forces Leonid Ivashov said, commenting on the defence documents to be discussed at the oncoming meeting of the CIS heads of state in Minsk.

The draft of the united military budget is for the first time "socially oriented", according to Ivashov. 60 per cent of all military spendings will go to financially support the Army and the Navy personnel. The sum exceeds by 100-200 per cent the allocations for the purpose from any previous Soviet war budget.

The CIS heads of state will also discuss military reform and the status of the former Soviet Armed Forces, the general said. One of the documents defines the powers of the supreme bodies of the Commonwealth in solving military problems. It is proposed to vest the supreme coordinating military functions with the Council of the CIS Heads of State, while the Council of the Heads of Government will deal with military-economic activities of the Commonwealth.

The START treaty implementation and the conventional arms cuts in Europe are expected to be discussed at the Minsk meeting too, according to the general. The Russian Foreign Ministry and the CIS Supreme Military Command proposed the Commonwealth member-states ratify the START treaty and work out a mechanism of its implementation, Ivashov disclosed.

The leaderships of the former Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine will be also proposed to sign a draft agreement on the implementation of conventional arms cuts. "Though there are no disagreement in principle on the matter, it might become difficult to agree on the maximum level of conventional arms remaining on the territory of each independent state", Ivashov said, adding he hopes common sense will prevail and acceptable agreements will be reached.

Turkestan District Forms Commercial Center

LD1901054592 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Tashkent January 15 UZTAG-TASS—The Turkestan Military District has formed a commercial centre with its own exchanges, bank and a number of small and joint ventures, involving all those who are interested in using military machinery like motor vehicles, tractors, etc. Civilian specialists with experience of entrepreneurship and commercial activities will be given work in the centre. The Army intends to have its own commercial structures in the form existing in many countries, director of the centre Major-General Snyatovski said.

Ships in Port Expected To Resume Functions

OW2201182692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 22 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ex-Soviet blue-water Navy ships are in ports at the moment, but before long they will be on the high sea again, said a Moscow naval staff source to DP on January 22. He firmly disagreed that the ships were at naval bases because of a shortage of fuel.

According to the naval source, the ships are in port because they had been engaged "in extending aid to friendly countries", including the transportation of weapons to those countries. This task has been struck off the agenda.

Another problem is that Russia does not have enough foreign exchange, because of which many of the ships were "in a bad state of disrepair" in the ports of the "friendly countries." The trimming of the Soviet military budget is also a factor.

The expert said that Soviet ships would before long be on high sea again, but they would "perform entirely different tasks." Some of them will be used to train military school cadets, and the Pacific Fleet will largely be engaged in the transportation of equipment and property holdings from Camranh Bay.

Construction of Two Cruisers Halted

PM2201155192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 4

["Our correspondent" report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Building of Ships Not Financed, But Work on Them Continues"]

[Text] Nikolayev, 20 Jan—The mass media have carried a report that Ukrainian shipyards will be converted to produce civilian output—tankers and other specialized ships. Warships which are at present less than half completed will, however, go for metal scrap, because there is no department capable of financing their construction.

Captain First Rank C. Shevchenko, commander of a ship repair and construction team, had the following to say about the future of the cruisers Varyag and Ulyanovsk, which are being built at Nikolayev:

"As far as I am aware, there is an order by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces, that the Varyag be mothballed and the Ulyanovsk cannibalized and cut up for metal."

This is what B. Goldberg, acting general director of the Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant, said in this regard:

"The building of the Varyag and the Ulyanovsk is no longer being financed now," said Boris Semenovich, "moreover, the military owes us 108 million rubles. Nevvertheless, work on the ships is continuing for the time being."

Further Reportage on Future of CIS Forces

'Soviet NATO' Seen as Solution

PM2201092592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 2, 12 Jan 92 p 5

[Article by Sergey Rogov, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute: "We Need 'Our Own' NATO"]

[Text] The "cold war" has ended. No sooner had we gotten out of it, and new sources of instability have arisen. The Soviet military machine's incipient chaotic collapse is perceived in the West as a "new Soviet threat." A superpower has disappeared while its armed forces have remained, but they have remained "ownerless." As the saying goes, too many cooks...

The Brest, Alma Ata, and Minsk meetings did not lead to the creation of a common command of a single military-strategic area, in other words a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] defense alliance. The half-hearted agreement on unified strategic forces affects only part of the former USSR's Armed Forces. The fate of general-purpose forces remains open. Ukraine, followed by several states that are independent now, have set about "nationalizing" the Army, and simultaneously the Navy and Air Force too. Even the Baltic states, which are insisting on the earliest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops, have taken advantage of the situation and demanded that all weapons be left to them. What can be expected if the principle of "everyone owns whatever is on his territory" is applied?

Approximately one-half of combat aircraft, tanks, and armored vehicles, over two-thirds of artillery, one-fourth of warships, and 44 percent of the personnel of the former USSR's Armed Forces are presently outside Russia's borders. Dividing the Army means dividing not only weapons but people too. If this happens, over 1.5 million servicemen (approximately one-half of them Russians) will have to swear allegiance to the presidents of former Soviet republics. Will citizens of one independent state agree to serve in another state's army? And what will such an army look like if, for instance, 90 percent of it in Turkmenia is made up of foreign citizens?

Will it be possible to retain unified control over nuclear forces if the CIS has no unified military organization?

One-half of strategic bombers, one-fourth of all ICBM's, and several thousand tactical nuclear warheads are stationed outside Russian territory. To whom will they belong if the separatist division of the army reaches its logical conclusion?

We are already posing the biggest threat to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. First, at least four former republics have become de facto nuclear states. Second, if the chaos worsens, the possibility of nuclear technologies being stolen or covertly sold cannot be ruled out. Third, we will evidently become exporters of brains capable of designing [razrabatyvat] and producing [proizvodit] nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

What will happen to the former USSR's international arms reduction commitments? Who, for example, will ratify the Paris Treaty on Conventional Weapons, and how will the independent states effect the reductions stipulated for the Soviet Union and divide the Soviet quota among themselves?

There is another option, whereby Russia, which until recently refused to create its own army, stops playing give-away with its CIS confederates and treats the armed forces in the same way as it treated the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and State Bank.

All the same, Russia will have to assume responsibility for expenditure on arms procurements, on research, development, and construction for the Army, and on the maintenance of troops not only on its territory but also in Germany, Poland, the Baltic states, and the Transcaucasus. The actual process of the Army's "nationalization" by other former republics (against whom are they rushing to arm themselves, when there is no external threat?) is provoking Russia to take such a step. Otherwise it is threatened not only with the loss of a huge quantity od weapons and the destruction of its own defense structure, but also with the prospect of a military balance unfavorable to it, especially in the former Union's European part.

Having gained the status of the USSR's legal successor in the diplomatic sphere, Russia could quite easily reinforce it with the same status in the military sphere. The West and especially the United States do not object to this, provided Russia cuts the inherited Soviet military potential. However, the superpower's legacy could become a heavy economic and political burden for Russia. Will the former republics' fear of Moscow's diktat not be revived, and will this not destroy the idea of a commonwealth?

Evidently the solution lies in the third option—the creation of a "Soviet NATO," which would help preserve the armed forces' unified structure, while CIS member states create their own armies by mutual agreement. This option will enable the provision of rigid civilian political control over the armed forces in the transitional period and the avoidance of unnecessary confrontation between the former republics. In this case the fulfillment of all the USSR's arms commitments can be really guaranteed.

Newspaper Views Situation

LD2201124792 Moscow TASS in English
1031 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—"The question of material reserves of the Armed Forces of the dissolved Soviet Union will soon become one of the stumbling blocks in Russia's relations with partners in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)", the newspaper PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK writes on Wednesday [22 January].

It so happened because of the military-political reality that defence groups of forces and their material reserves were stationed near the state border of the former Soviet Union, mostly outside Russia's territory, the newspaper writes.

"Enforced" privatisation of the property of the Armed Forces situated in the territories of independent Baltic States, in the south-western part of the dissolved Union, in Transcaucasia and in Central Asia is now taking place.

It is possible to talk constructively of creating the joint Armed Forces in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States only if the Republics have national Armed Forces. "A fair division of the Army and Navy between the Republics is needed for the purpose", the newspaper writes.

"These difficulties can be avoided or at least mitigated if there is an effort to preserve the idea of creating the joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth, at least for the transitional period", the newspaper writes. It believes this period could last from two or three to five to seven years.

The CIS countries could conclude an agreement on defences for the transitional period. The newspaper writes that preserving single control over nuclear weapons is of cardinal importance in this matter

Conflict Threatens 'Vital Organs'

PM2301110292 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Captain 1st Rank V. Chupakhin: "The Army Does Not Want To Become an Autonomous Political Force, But Circumstances and Politicians Are Driving It To Do So"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The assembly basically was the same as the Army is at present. At present it is courageously maintaining unity and remaining manageable. But powerful external influences pulling in different directions are tearing its mighty body apart, and the corrosion of political conflicts is eating deep into the Army organism, threatening the vital organs.

It is highly characteristic that in the serious political commentaries that have appeared in the press since the assembly, not much attention is being paid to the form, the external side of the officers' forum. The content, the essence, is far more important. And the essence, some writers say, is that the army has taken or is taking the political stage as an autonomous political force. This conclusion is repeated in many newspapers and television program, with variations. The possible consequences of the emergence of such a factor in our political life is analyzed and warnings are delivered...

Well, you could doubtless argue about whether the Army can really be regarded as an autonomous political force already, or whether it is only just becoming so, or whether, perhaps more accurately still, it could become so in the near future given an unfavorable turn of events. But here I would like to mention something that is for some reason lost sight of in commentaries of this kind—the Officers' Assembly showed very clearly that the Army is not at all willing to get involved in politics, still less to become an "autonomous political force." This is a completely unnatural role for it, contrary to the very nature, character, and purpose of our Army. And if something of the kind is happening, it is happening in spite of everything. It is highly characteristic that the officers' assembly was very cautious, not to say hostile, in its attitude to anything that smacked even slightly of ideology or party mentality. Neither democrats, nor communists, nor anyone who so much as mentioned membership of a particular political organization was heard out. They refused to get involved in arguments about capitalisms and socialisms, about whether this or that political or economic platform is right or wrong. And the slightest attempt to push the audience in that direction was more than enough, the collective intelligence and collective feeling enabled them to determine quite clearly what is the army's business and what is not, and where the limits of the possible and the expedient run today.

At the same time the course of the All-Army Assembly reflected, in my view, to what extent the present moral and psychological state of the Armed Forces is unstable, to what extent the mood is contradictory, how close the dissatisfaction level has come to the critical point, and how strong is the sense of injury and lack of rights among the military.

At one time military people used to be accused of conservatism. But now, it seems, the democratic forces in power want to rely totally on that very same positive conservatism, which is based not on hostility to change, but on loyalty to the legitimate authorities and unwillingness to see social upheavals. An army in conservative mood is not dangerous. What is dangerous is an army in radical mood. Alas, the basis exists for the rapid and turbulent radicalization of the Army's feelings and demands.

Suffice it to recall how rapidly the auditorium flared up after certain trenchant ultimatum-like statements, how hard it was for those chairing the assembly to calm the audience down and restore a businesslike mood.

Do the politicians and leaders of sovereign states realize that as a result of ill-considered actions and decisions, in certain conditions, the military collectives could also flare up one day? Apparently not all of them realize it. In any case, the fact that the majority of the heads of state did not deem it necessary personally to attend the All-Army Officers' Assembly and that they presented themselves to the assembly having once again failed to reach agreement, with a rather unconvincing statement, testifies to their patent underestimation of the seriousness of the situation.

Frankly, it was an uncomfortable feeling to hear the proposals at the assembly for some kind of "sit-down strike" to be held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses until the presidents assemble in Moscow and sign documents of some kind. Luckily there was sufficient sobriety and restraint not to do this. But if there had not been? Imagine just for a moment that such an ultimatum had been delivered, in the name of thousands of officer delegates. Behind each of those delegates are regiments, divisions, ships... What would have started there? How would those same heads of state have gotten out of that impasse?

You can, of course, condemn the authors of such proposals and threaten them with the "Matrosskaya Tishina" [prison where August plotters are held]. As if that would make the problem go away! It is not a question of certain people's arrogance. Ultraradical demands, ultimatums, and the temptation to seek solutions by strong-arm methods arise and will naturally continue to arise as long as the present abnormal situation persists in the Armed Forces.

In normal conditions the Army's interests are integrated, so to speak, with the interests of society and the state. Society, understanding the specific characteristics of a force like the Army and its importance to society itself, systematically fulfills its needs and demands. The Army has no need to get involved in politics—a sphere where the interests of different social strata, groups, and classes fight it out. At the moment things are very different: The state for which the Army was created no longer exists. The rejection, in the context of the creation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], of any common state structures has put the Armed Forces leadership in an ambiguous position. At interstate level many questions are not being tackled, and the main command, it transpires, is having to act as virtually an autonomous participant in talks. The Armed Forces should be led by the political leadership. But the present political leadership is racked by conflicts... In a stable society uncertainty over the status of the troops, their finance, food, and other types of provision is inconceivable. Now, however, the army has been placed in conditions where it has to fight for these things that should be taken for granted. So is it surprising if the interests of the military become separate and take on an autonomous significance? [passage omitted]

The natural question is: What next? Will officers' assemblies of this kind be convened in future, and when? What role will be played by the Coordinating Council that was formed? In the course of its formation a reluctance to politicize the new organ was again in evidence. Colonel V. Alksnis, who enjoys popularity among quite a number of officers and had only just before been heard attentively here at the assembly, nonetheless did not get onto the council, because the majority were inclined not to create even the slightest opportunities for political struggle or division.

Time will tell whether an influential permanent structure will be set up, one that ensures democratic representation of the interests of the officer corps in the resolution of questions relating to the Armed Forces' fate. At the assembly some people expressed doubts that this would happen. But Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov and Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov declared that such distrust is unfounded. I think it is indeed unfounded. Because in present conditions the Armed Forces leadership itself is keenly interested in ensuring that urgent problems are not buried deep within the Army organism. If that happens, things could reach the point where the role of an "autonomous political force" is played not by the Armed Forces, but by individual divisions, regiments, battalions... That is what is really terrifying.

Better that there should be heated and honest assemblies like this. Better that there should be a truly democratic social organization of officers. Today it could be useful to the army, to the politicians, and to society.

No, the significance of what happened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 17 January should not be underestimated. That event will go on influencing the developing situation in the CIS, without fail.

Economic Affairs

Goskomstat Concludes 'Real Threat of Hunger'

LD2301110492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] For the first time in the last 30 years, the population of the former Union is faced with a real threat of hunger. Such is the discomforting conclusion reached by analysts of the also former Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics].

The specialists regard the most alarming factor to be the general depletion in the calorific value of food for all groups of the population. The growth in prices today has become virtually uncontrolled. Many people's earnings have remained at the previous level. At the same time, the size of minimum expenditure, the so-called consumer basket, is rapidly rising in the wake of prices. Today, the mimimum monthly expenditure for children up to seven years old is 1,213 rubles, for middle-aged men 2,295 rubles, and for women between 17-54: 2,333 rubles per month. [video shows figures]

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Jan

LD2201115992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0400 GMT 22 Jan 92

["TASS Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—"The Army does not want to become an independent, political force", writes the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today. In its opinion "it is being pushed toward this by circumstances and by politicians". In a report from Sevastopol, the newspaper begs forgiveness for the fact that "in yesterday's issue, through the fault of the editorial office, it was erroneously stated that flags bearing the cross of St. Andrew had been raised over the vessels of the Black Sea Fleet". According to more precise information, naval flags still fly over the Fleet's ships. The editors beg readers' forgiveness." KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has been told by the Navy's headquarters that the flag of St. Andrew has not yet been raised on the ships of any fleet.

The same newspaper carries an interview with Galina Starovoytova, an adviser to the Russian president, in which she notes that Russia "is not sliding toward the Yugoslav option". "Politicans' errors could be very costly", she thinks.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA continues to publish material giving local reactions to the All-Army Officers' meeting in Moscow. The newspaper quotes figures from a poll carried out among the officer corps of the Armed Forces on the issue of the unity of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces in respect of the branches of the Armed Forces and categories of servicemen. It is pointed out in particular that more than 80% of those polled said that the possible division of the Armed Forces among the former Union republics would only worsen the situation of servicemen. The adherents of that view are mostly to be found in Belarus—95%—and the Transcaucasus—93%—and least in Ukraine and Moldova—71%.

"Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin], for all his well-known positive qualities, is an impulsive person with an explosive temperament and is not always consistent". That is the belief of Boris Oleynik, the famous poet and public figure, who has spoken on a Ukrainian television program. His comments are published in PRAVDA today. "As you know, Boris Nikolayevich came to power under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", but having achieved victory he has essentially abolished Soviet power", B. Oleynik asserts.

Aleksey Golovkov, chief aide of the state secretary [as received] and first deputy prime minister of the Russian

Federation Government, gives his view of the Russian Government in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. "We have no other alternative team in reserve which could continue the reform", he says.

As Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, said in an interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, "nobody promised abundance in a couple of weeks". In his opinion the reform is proceeding according to plan. "Privatization is a big and important job which will last years", he says. "We are doing it as quickly as we can." "Our main thrust is to try to save the present Union ruble at whatever cost. Ultimately we are prepared to go on fighting to make the Union ruble the Russian ruble."

TRUD starts a series of articles by its own correspondent Vladimir Snegiryev on the outcome of his December tour of duty in Afghanistan today. "There were Soviet generals among my agents", asserts Afghan opposition leader Ahmad Shah Masud in conversation with the newspaper correspondent. "Some of them worked for payment and others because they secretly sympathized with us." On the problem of Afghan settlement, Masud notes that the mojahedin "welcome the idea of political settlement and have duly appraised the results brought back from Moscow by the Afghan opposition delegation". "It is hoped that the dialogue will continue and that the resulting understandings will be implemented," the Afghan opposition leader notes.

Mikhail Lapshin, Russian Federation people's deputy and co-chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party, writes in PRAVDA about the economic situation in Russia. "The socialists consider that the transfer of ownership of the means of production to those who work in them is currently a paramount measure", he thinks. "Taking into account the experience of other countries that have gone through a profound restructuring of the economy, we have to retain state price regulation for essential goods and services, and formulate effective taxation that stimulates production."

Valeriy Ivanov, chairman of the Central Council of the Russian National Rebirth Party, writes in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA about the tasks of "the rebirth of the Russian nation in Russia." "As a Russian party we are setting ourselves the task of a real rebirth of the native people, the toiler, and the servant," he says.

The same paper carries under the headline, "Political investigation," material commenting on the case of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] based on remarks by A. Korshunov, member of the commission of the former USSR Supreme Soviet investigating the circumstances of the August coup. "Lawlessness begets lawlessness—that is the conclusion we can draw from the documents collected by the commission," the newspaper sums up.

Still at the center of attention of the press are events on a domestic political theme from the "hot spots"—the situation in Georgia, in South Ossetia, and Uzbekistan.

The international sections of the newspapers are given over to events in Yugoslavia, the Near East, the unstable situation in a number of African countries, and also reports from Central and South America, disarmament issues, and the economic chronicle.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Sends Message to CIS Aid Conference

LD2301123892 Moscow TASS in English
1159 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia has sent a message of greetings to participants in the current international conference in Washington on the coordination of aid to the peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The message reads:

"I greet participants in the Washington conference, the representatives of states that expressed readiness to extend a helping hand to the peoples of Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union at this moment which is crucial to them.

"We have made an irrevocable choice in which the human being is the supreme value and his interests constitute the basis of the foreign and domestic policies of the state. But one has to pay dearly for the past errors and misapprehensions.

"Humanitarian aid and other types of assistance on the part of the international community will undoubtedly help soften the difficulties for our population during transition to a market economy. We see the way to a genuine economic and social revival of the country in large-scale and versatile business cooperation with all those who are interested in it.

"Russia is open to foreign entrepreneurship. The necessary legal guarantees for the investment of capital, business activity and the export of profits are being created in the republic. Equal economic partnership must become one of decisive factors in bringing about a rapid economic development of the country.

"While expressing gratitude to the international community for the aid being rendered, I want to reaffirm that the leadership of Russia will take all necessary measures to ensure the delivery of aid supplies to specific addressees and a fair distribution of aid.

"I wish participants in the conference fruitful and successful work in accomplishing the humane mission of helping those who really need it now".

Gaydar Outlines Russia's Need for Western Aid

LD2301105592 Moscow TASS in English
1037 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] London January 22 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar briefed the Western industrialised countries on the types of aid Russia needs in an article published on Wednesday [22 January] by the FINANCIAL TIMES newspaper. The Western powers are meeting today in Washington to discuss urgent aid to the former Soviet republcs.

Expressing his gratitude to the West for humanitarian help to Russia, Gaydar said Russia needs a general support of its balance of payments to curb inflation by the end of March. The import of goods decreased by one third last year, causing a sharp fall in living standards and cutting down production based on imported raw materials. Western help is necessary to prevent a complete economic collapse and to keep the rouble value at a reasonable level, Gaydar explained.

Russia needs practically the same per capita allocations as the West gave to Poland, Gaydar said.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin requested the "G-7" last year to help create a stabilisation fund, but the "G-7" are waiting for Russia to join the International Monetary Fund. It would be much easier for the country to plan further reforms, if the "G-7" finance ministers stated at their coming meeting in Washington which kind of help and on what terms they would grant it to Russia, Gaydar said.

Ambassador Silayev Remarks on EC Cooperation

PM2101140192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Russian Ambassador to the EC Ivan Silayev by Yelizaveta Leontyeva under the rubric "Russia and the World"; place and date not given: "Ivan Silayev: The Barriers Have Been Removed. Now It Is Possible to Build"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In a few days' time, former Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev is leaving for Brussels. His large office at 26 Pushkin Square (headquarters of the former provisional Union government), is silent now. There are no waiting lines in the reception room and the telephone rarely rings. Everything changed rapidly and, furthermore, unexpectedly for the boss of this office, a fact which, by the way, Ivan Stepanovich does not hide:

[Silayev] To be frank, I did not expect such an abrupt turn of events. It seemed to me that work at the Interstate Economic Committee [IEC] was only just beginning and I felt that I was useful here. Indeed, I had managed to achieve something—I have in mind the Treaty on the Economic Community. Then in December I was briefly out of a job.

Admittedly, Boris Nikolayevich made a decision on my future quickly. On 18 December we met for a conversation and that same day the president of the Russian Federation published a decree on my appointment as Russia's permanent representative to the EC in Belgium.

[Leontyeva] What was your reaction to this appointment, Ivan Stepanovich?

[Silayev] It is a continuation of my work for Russia at quite a high diplomatic rank—thus, I am optimistic. Incidentally, I recently visited Brussels, where we signed a joint agreement on credits of 500 million ECU's [European currency units]. When I was there I inquired about the EC's work, its history, and its structure—I was still hopeful then of using all this in my work at the IEC. Well, as you can see, the information has proved useful....

Here in Moscow the question was whether or not there should be a representative of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] in Brussels, but I am happy that I am representing Russia alone there.

[Leontyeva] There are now 12 countries in the EC. As you know, membership is not easy to obtain. Recently several of our former CEMA partners applied for associate membership of the EC. They have already been accepted. What will they gain from this transitional stage prior to full membership in the future?

[Silayev] Complete exemption from customs duties to begin with—is that really so little? As for the advantages of full membership, the countries themselves believe that in the past 15 years of cooperation they have saved $30 billion! I think that speaks volumes.

[Leontyeva] In your view, when will the Russian Federation be able to become an associate member of the EC?

[Silayev] In the near future, I think, especially since we are receiving "signals" from the headquarters in Brussels about the desirability of a meeting between Jacques Delors and Boris Yeltsin. I consider it one of my first tasks to prepare such a meeting and to prepare the agreement on associate membership. Our ultimate aim is full Russian membership of the EC.

[Leontyeva] How can that be brought closer?

[Silayev] This is not a simple process—it took some states many years to achieve EC membership. The main conditions are the creation of a law-based, democratic state, the harmonization of Russian legislation, economic compatibility, then the merging of standards, norms, and tariffs....

[Leontyeva] Ivan Stepanovich, what are your main functions as Russia's representative?

[Silayev] First of all, to give the EC specific information on the essence of the processes taking place in our country. To work on questions of credits and humanitarian and technical assistance. At the end of last year, when the IEC was still in operation, a document was signed whereby the EC allocated 400 million ECU's exclusively for technical assistance to our Commonwealth. This includes aid for the reforms and the training of specialists and assistance in food production and the development of transport and communications (long-term research, studies, and so on). These resources are allocated free of charge but even so no hard currency will cross the border. A substantial proportion of it will go to Russia—all in the form of specifically scheduled and targeted programs. Thus one of my functions is to help our economy implement these programs. An even more important task is to prepare for signing in January or February an agreement allocating a further 500 million ECU's (around $600 million) for more technical assistance. To get a picture of the scale of this aid, just consider that over 1,000 experts from the EC member countries will be working in our country within the framework of the first aid package alone. Not in order to buy or to sell but to **train**—that is the megatask.

[Leontyeva] In economic integration, a very great deal will now depend on the Russian Government. Incidentally, how do you regard that government? And how would you rectify its activity if that were necessary?

[Silayev] What was the shortcoming in our work? We did a lot of work on the principles of the reform but the legislative process proved very difficult and cooperation with the territories proved especially difficult because of the absence of a vertical executive power. It is very difficult now, too, but Yeltsin has made a very important decision—to combine the functions of president and head of government and to organize a vertical executive structure. That has eliminated many of the barriers which hindered our cabinet. Although, to be frank, we had quite a few internal shortcomings of our own....

Processes will move more quickly now. I think that in the economic sphere the new government will consist of professionals. The Russian people are quite patient and undemanding and I think that they will let the new generation of leaders stay in power a little longer.

Moscow, St. Petersburg Receive EC Food Aid

OW2201223392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The European Community is to send a total of 8.5 million tons of food to Moscow and St. Petersburg in January, of which 7.5 million tons have already arrived in Moscow as free-of-charge food aid, the chief of the EC mission in Moscow, Mr. Michael Emerson told newsmen on Wednesday [22 January]. According to Mr. Emerson, the EC food shipment includes 5,000 tons of beef, 1,000 tons of skimmed powdered milk and 2,500 tons of butter.

Test sales of the butter began in Moscow on Sunday [19 January] at a price (56 rubles per kg) agreed with the Moscow authorities, Mr. Emerson said. The sales are controlled by EC experts and representatives of public organizations at 23 stores of Moscow. Powdered milk is now undergoing processing.

According to previous reports, the EC food aid came on sale in St. Petersburg too. There, meat is sold at 55 and butter at 45 rubles per kg.

Mr. Emerson believes that Western food supplies may help stabilize or even push down prices in Moscow and St. Petersburg. According to EC estimates, each Muscovite would be able to buy at least 3 kg of meat during this period. Earnings from the sales, including auctions, are to be transferred to specialized accounts opened by the European Commission and the municipal authorities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The accounts are to be used to establish social safety nets for the most vulnerable groups of people.

In addition, Mr. Emerson said, 150 tons of medicine was sent to Moscow and St. Petersburg from December 21 to January 12.

NATO Entry May Have 'Dangerous Consequences'

PM2201163592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 4

["Letter to Editorial Office" from Doctor of Historical Sciences B. Zanegin: "Should We Join NATO?"]

[Text] The long years of the "cold war" schooled the whole world, including the members of NATO, to regard this military-political organization as the main instrument for combating communism. The strategy of brinkmanship pursued by NATO kept the Soviet Union in a state of tension for many years. It caused many (but not all, of course) of our people's problems.

Journalists and some politicians are now suggesting that Russia or members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] join NATO. What does this mean? It is easy to see that joining NATO would add the final full stop to our country's act of surrender. It would create external guarantees of (that is, the possibility of external forces ensuring) the irreversibility of the process whereby the new bourgeoisie and the new bureaucracy are usurping political power and the economic rights of workers, peasants, and all Russia's working population. **Restraining the inevitable increase in social-class conflicts and the small peoples' struggle for equality is the main aim of the plans to renounce our national sovereignty in favor of either NATO or the UN Security Council, which is being transformed into a "world government."**

President G. Bush has summed up unequivocally: "For more than 40 years the United States led the West's fight against communism...The confrontation is over...The Soviet Union no longer exists. This is a victory for moral forces and our values." You could not put it more clearly. Political realists prefer to use strict geopolitical categories rather than demagoguery about the "evil empire" and "flowers of new democracy" in Russia, such as: economic might, political stability, and the combat capability and combat readiness of the armed forces. It is not pompous trivialities of the "new political thinking" such as "balance of interests" but the correlation of real forces that forms the basis of relations between states. **Those people in Russia who are calling for it to join NATO on the pretext of asserting democracy are in reality ready to enshrine the breakup of the country and its armed forces.** They are renouncing something that forms the essence of our state and social identity, our 1,000-year old state's abiding place in history, and the creation of a truly efficient economy. Their call will mean that the country is transformed into a source of intellectual, manpower, energy, environmental, and mineral resources for developed countries.

The calls to join the North Atlantic pact and, as it were, "Atlanticize" Russia or the CIS may have highly dangerous consequences for all our peoples. The system of mutual commitments, humanitarian aid, and all other kinds of aid will inevitably bind us to participation in conflicts between developed and developing countries. For Russia to join NATO is fraught with tremendous risk: The country will be involved in colonial adventures. Faced with the threat of the exhaustion of nonrenewable natural resources and the degradation of the environment and running up against social instability, economic obstinacy, and a desire for independence on the part of developing nations, industrial capitalist countries are stepping up pressure on the "Third World."

Western interest in integrating some Soviet republics into their military-political structures is understandable. If it joined NATO Russia would find itself confronting its direct neighbors—China, Mongolia, and the host of Muslim states lying to the south of our borders. If the process of the Union's disintegration deepens, an "Atlanticized" Russia will almost inevitably be dragged into fratricidal wars for other countries' interests.

To raise now the question of Russia joining NATO would be to weaken our Army's noble unifying, stabilizing role. The practical implementation of this idea would be the last step on the road of turning Russia into the bourgeois colonialist bloc's junior partner. Thos would put the Russian Army under foreign command. This question, if it ever really arises, must be decided by a national referendum, as was the case in Spain.

Churkin Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 22 Jan

Outlines Agenda for Yeltsin Tour

OW2201191292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin stated Wednesday [22 January] that during his tour abroad January 30-February 2 Russian President Boris Yeltsin will visit not only Great Britain and USA, but also Canada. Speaking at a briefing at the Russian Foreign Ministry press center, Churkin confirmed that on January 30 on his way to New York Yeltsin will briefly stop in London to hold talks with British Prime Minister John Major.

On January 31 Yeltsin will take part in a meeting of the UN Security Council at the highest level. On the same day, Churkin said, the Russian president is expected to have bilateral meetings, including with U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Ghali.

Boris Yeltsin is scheduled to meet with George Bush in his Camp David residence February 1. The last leg of Yeltsin's tour will be Ottawa where on February 2 he will meet with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney

Churkin said that the Russian delegation includes first deputy chairman of the government Gennadiy Burbulis, Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian president's administration Yuriy Petrov, Chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and economic relations Vladimir Lukin.

Notes Yeltsin Meeting With Workers

LD2301053692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, head of the information directorate of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke at a briefing held yesterday in Moscow. According to him, the results of the five-hour meeting between President Yeltsin and nuclear workers [yadershchiki] gave grounds for high hopes. The meeting laid the foundation for a new Russian policy in this sphere. This is especially important now when Russia is beginning to expand cooperation on issues of nuclear security with the rest of the world.

Yeltsin, Japan's Miyazawa To Hold Talks

LD2301093792 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo January 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan will meet during a conference of the heads of state of the United Nations Security Council member-nations, opening in New York on January 31.

An understanding on Russian-Japanese high-level talks has been reached between the two countries' governments, whose representatives are now busy coordinating an agenda for the first meeting between the president of the Russian Federation and the head of the Japanese cabinet, the newspaper ASAHI SHIMBUN writes today referring to sources in the country's government quarters.

An agenda for the Russian-Japanese high-level talks, as the Japanese press reported earlier, is expected to be finally agreed upon during a meeting between the president of Russia and Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe who arrives in Moscow on Saturday [25 January] to attend a regular round of the international Middle East peace conference.

According to the Japanese foreign minister, he intends to exchange views with Boris Yeltsin on such two major issues concerning bilateral relations as Japan's support for Russia in the realisation of economic reforms and a solution to the problem of the four South Kuril Islands.

Foreign Ministry Changes Policy Toward Japan

OW2201123992 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1300 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] As Radio Moscow reported at the end of last year, after the Soviet Overseas Affairs Ministry was dissolved, the functions of that ministry in the Russian territories was taken over by the Russian Foreign Ministry. How have Russia's policies toward Japan changed as a result of this?

(Vasiliy Saplin), deputy director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Pacific-Southeast Asian Nations Bureau, spoke in response to questions from (Dedrov), a reporter from the Radio Moscow Japanese section, as follows:

Of course, there have been changes in policies on Japan. In fact, the changes have been substantial. Our policies on Japan until recently had been those underestimating Japan's position and roles. Japan was not given priority in the Soviet Union's global policies. Until recently, power relations in international politics had been decided by the military.

Now, to speak about the Russian Foreign Ministry and the whole Russian Government, they are recognizing Japan's position as a world power in not only economic but also policy matters. We will be formulating our policies from this standpoint.

With the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the territories under our control have changed. Previously, we had many nations in East Europe and Asia as our neighboring nations, but other member republics in the Commonwealth are now our new neighboring nations. Russia's neighboring nations have decreased in number, but that is the additional reason why we have to regard them as important.

That is why we strongly want to solidify friendly and cooperative relations with neighboring nations like China, Japan and Korea. This is the Russian Foreign Ministry's priority task.

Actually, exchanges between Russia and Japan had become positive by late last year. Last year Khazbulatov, the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, visited Japan, and delivered a personal message from President Yeltsin to Japan's prime minister. On the other hand, from Japan, the then Foreign Minister Nakayama and Japanese industrial personnel visited Moscow. We think the year 1992 will be just as fruitful a year. For instance, President Yeltsin is due to visit Japan. Soon, in late January, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Watanabe is set to visit Moscow. Foreign Minister Watanabe will arrive to attend the Mideast Conference in Moscow, but he is also expected to meet with the Russian leadership on a series of issues pending between Russia and Japan.

In addition to, among the difficult issues that need to be resolved there is the territorial issue. That remains an obstacle to the conclusion of a peace treaty between Russia and Japan. The issue can be said to be the last and most important unresolved issue. The Russian Government has declared that it will take, in principle, a new approach on relations with Japan and that it will not regard Japan as an enemy from the past. We have also declared that we will deal with Japan on the basis of respecting international law and the principles of justice.

I believe both Japan and Russia want to solve this difficult issue as soon as possible. That is why we have so many hopes riding on President Yeltsin's visit to Japan.

Economic Solution to Kurils Dispute Proposed

OW2201194492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commander of the Pacific border troops, Lieutenant-General Barybin believes the Southern Kurils problem should be resolved by economic means, through granting Japan the most-favored status and setting up joint ventures on the Islands. Barybin spoke at a news conference in Vladivostok Wednesday [22 January]. In his opinion, the transfer of the disputed islands to Japan should be removed from the agenda, "since such a precedent can cause new territorial claims from other states."

Kozyrev, Dumas Meet, Discuss Treaty Details

LD2301122892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1103 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—The talks between Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, and Roland Dumas, French foreign minister, who is in Moscow on a brief working visit, have ended. "We have examined the final details of a treaty between France and Russia. It will be signed in the course of the forthcoming visit to Paris by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, said the French minister in a conversation with a TASS correspondent after the end of the talks. "We hope it will be a good document."

It is expected in Russian diplomatic circles that Boris Yeltsin's visit to France will yield tangible, practical results and stimulate the development of bilateral relations in the political, economic, cultural and legal areas. "Continuity and innovation"—this is how Konstantin Mozel, deputy head of the First European Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, described Russian-French relations. In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he noted that the traditionally good relations with France, enhanced by the dynamism of the new Russia, ought to yield good results.

Following the planned meeting in the Kremlin with Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, and a private conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, Roland Dumas will today continue his trip of the Commonwealth of Independent States countries. He intends to visit Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. The head of France's foreign policy department told journalists that, following Paris' recognition of the independence of these states in Minsk and Alma-Ata, he would talk about practical steps to establish bilateral diplomatic relations. As is known, the French Consulate in Kiev has already been upgraded to an embassy.

Aides Discuss Foreign Debt, Likely IMF Terms

PM2201165392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Otto Latsis: "Creditors' Confidence Costs 20 Billion"]

[Text] On 18 January a group of Russian Government members, headed by [Russian First Deputy Premier] G. Burbulis, met in the Moscow House of Journalists with economists and journalists. To compare notes—that is one way of describing it. The economists tried to probe the government's position, seeking out the weak spots—not for the sake of propaganda, but to ensure that there are as few weaknesses as possible. It was agreed that the meetings would continue and that other Russian leaders would participate in them.

The discussion that took place was not one of those that requires a systematic account. But one topic discussed at the meeting needs to be bruited abroad—both as an example of what the conversation was about and, most important, because it revealed the government's enormous concern, about which the public is amazingly ill-informed. Incidentally, that is one of the weaknesses of the "reform cabinet," as revealed at the meeting: It is not managing to propagandize and explain its policy properly.

What was it about? [Russian Deputy Premier] Ye. Gaydar pointed out that Russia had assumed overall responsibility for the former USSR's foreign debt (the other republics' unpaid debts are registered as their debt to Russia). It was the only possible decision, because without it talks with creditors would be impossible. So far these talks have been very fruitful. In 1992 we have to pay around $20 billion to service the debt (payment of credits and interest). This is more than one-half of expected export earnings for the year. Making these payments would leave us without money to buy the food we need, without imported materials for our national economy. It would aggravate the economic catastrophe.

Fortunately, the creditors were amenable: Payments totaling $11.5 billion were deferred; we can manage the rest. However, no creditor is going to agree to such concessions without establishing that the debtor wants to and is able to pay off the debt in the end. In March experts will evaluate our economic system according to the IMF's well-known rules. The standard requirements for an effective economy include a liberalized price system, no state support for inefficient production, and some other conditions whose implementation would benefit us too. But in this case the results of the study will also decide whether the promised deferment of payments remains in place. Let us add that the West is ready to freeze new credits of $11-12 billion granted to the former USSR. This decision also depends on the results of the study. It would be useful for us all to remember that.

Decline in Russian Gold Stocks Reported

PM2201100892 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 3

[RIA report: "Last Gold Goes on Sale"]

[Text] According to South African experts, this year sales of Russian gold on world markets will decline sharply. As Johannesburg's SUNDAY TIMES newspaper reports, the 400 tonnes of gold sold by the USSR in 1991 included ingots with prerevolutionary markings, which, in the experts' opinion, indicates a critical reduction in Russia's gold reserves. In this connection an increase in the world gold price is expected.

As for the trade in diamonds, copper, nickel, and metals of the platinum group, Russia remains a serious competitor to South Africa. As the SUNDAY TIMES notes in its economic review, the possible involvement of Western capital in working the Siberian deposits of diamonds and nonferrous metals could lead to a fall in market prices, as a result of which South African mining enterprises will suffer serious losses.

Joint CSFR Oil Export Protocol Signed

LD1901111192 Prague CSTK in English 0825 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow Jan 17 (CSTK)—A trade protocol providing for the supply of 7.5 million tonnes of Russian oil to Czechoslovakia this year was signed on Thursday [16 January] by representatives of the two countries' foreign trade ministries. Lubomir Martak, Czechoslovak deputy foreign trade minister, told journalists the 7.5 million tonnes are the maximum that could be secured now when oil production in Russia has been declining. Last year, Czechoslovakia bought 9.5 million tonnes of the fuel from the former Soviet Union, Martak said. He signed the document for Minister Jozef Baksay whose plane could not land in Moscow for adverse weather conditions. Martak said exceptionally advantageous opportunities exist for additional supplies this year. Russian oil producers will be free to sell 20 percent of their output, keeping half of the profit for their own needs. Under the protocol, Russia will also supply 13,000 million cubic metres of gas to Czechoslovakia this year. Other Czechoslovak imports include nuclear fuel for power plants and non-ferrous metals. Russia will import from Czechoslovakia mainly food, medicaments and some products of the chemical and engineering industries. Russia has taken over about 80 per cent of Czechoslovakia's trade with the former Soviet Union, Martak said. He also told journalists trade protocols with other successor states are being prepared. In mid-January, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa was to travel to Russia for fact-finding talks on trade and political relations with the major successor state to the former Soviet Union. But Russian leaders asked for the visit to be postponed until early February for time reasons.

Kaliningrad Border With Lithuania Disputed

PM2101115192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich report: "Lithuania Clarifies Borders"]

[Text] Lithuania has begun active work to clarify its own border without making any territorial claims of its neighbors.

A meeting was held in Kaliningrad between delegations from Lithuania and the Russian Federation's Kaliningrad Oblast. Despite the fact that both sides proceed on the basis of the general principle of the inviolability of borders, there are a number of points which require discussion. According to V. Katkus, the republic's deputy foreign minister and delegation leader, the border between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Oblast needs to be sanctioned. Although a considerable portion of it runs along rivers, which as a whole rules out any major differences, the border in the region of Lake Bishtitis (Bishtinets), the Kurshkaya Spit, and the city of Sovetsk require clarification.

As we can see, the differences are not fundamental, and it is unlikely that the three working groups set up during the talks will fail to find common ground. I would recall that the Lithuanian-Russian border is around 300 km long in the west. The 600-km border with Latvia is also relatively clear. The approximately 20-km stretch of border in northeastern Lithuania, which was not recorded in the Lithuanian-Latvian Treaty of 1922, remains to be clarified.

A more complex problem faces the Lithuanian and Belarussian delegations since the border there has essentially never been fixed at local level.

Leader Warns of Manipulation by Lithuania

OW1901184892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Kaliningrad regional administration, Mr. Yuriy Matochkin, told BF [BALTFAX] in an exclusive interview that the Kaliningrad region is being manipulated by Russia and Lithuania. He referred to the telegram by Lithuanian premier Gediminas Vagnorius in which he did not rule out the possibility of cutting down energy supplies to this region because Lithuania, he wrote, was undersupplied by Russia. This is a vivid example of our dependence on our neighbor, said Mr. Matochkin.

"We therefore try not to fan tensions between the Kaliningrad region and Lithuania," he said.

The local leaders have established direct contacts with the Lithuanian government and set up joint working groups on the demarcation of borders, on electric energy and fuel, and on construction, he said.

Asked whether the western neighbors could lay territorial claims on Kaliningrad region, Mr. Matochkin said that his region had a stronger legal shield than, say, the Kuril islands. He said that the turning of this region into a free economic zone was aimed at consolidating Russia's economic positions. "A territory is run by those who own it," said Yuriy Matochkin. "We must therefore ensure that the Russian capital be given priority," he stated.

Border 'Tension' With Estonia Increases

LD2101014592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Tension on the Russian-Estonian border is increasing. Our correspondent in St. Petersburg, Denis Gulinskiy, reports.

[Gulinskiy] The St. Peterburg Directorate of the Russian Federal Security Agency has prepared a report on the current situation on the Russian-Estonian border and on the functioning of the Russian border and customs structures in this situation. The report by the St. Petersburg chekists states that attempts at illegally and apparently legally exporting Russian raw materials and goods to Estonia are continuing to be recorded on the Russian-Estonian border.

According to the report, attempts are being made to export gasoline, timber, aluminium, copper, zinc, and scrap metal from Russia for subsequent resale for freely convertible currency from Estonia to the Scandinavian countries. The Directorate reports that in most cases, drivers present the Russian customs officials with licences to export the goods in question issued by local Russian administrations. For some reason, it is not within the competence of customs officials to detain these goods since, furthermore, there is no state treaty between the Russian Federation and Estonia regulating reciprocal border customs procedures. The report also demonstrates that in addition to the export of raw materials, there are cases on the border of the illegal transportation of raw materials and consumer goods avoiding customs. In particular, it was recently established that several Estonian mafia groups had transported tonnes of Russian gasoline from Leningrad and Pskov Oblasts over the course of three months. The gasoline was obtained through the use of false invoices and number plates. The gasoline was subsequently sent into Estonia at night across the border river Narva.

The vulnerability of the Russian border is also being made worse by the shortage of professional border guards and customs officials. In their place, local militia officials are being involved in work on the border. The proper border and customs infrastructure on the Russian side is also lacking.

The St. Petersburg Directorate of the Russian Federal Security Agency, citing its operational sources, also provides notification of the start of a campaign in regions of Estonia bordering on Russia to identify Estonians who, prior to World War II, lived on territory that is now part of Kingiseppskiy rayon of Leningrad Oblast and Pechorskiy rayon of Pskov Oblast. According to the information of the St. Petersburg chekists, this campaign is being launched with the aim of providing grounds for probable Estonian territorial claims against Russia demanding the return of these rayons to the jurisdiction of Estonia.

In its conclusion, the St. Petersburg Directorate of the Russian Federal Security Agency, calls on the Russian Government immediately to work out a program of measures to strengthen comprehensively the Russian border with Estonia.

People's Deputies Want Border With Georgia

OW2201232492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of Russian people's deputies representing the Krasnodar region offered President Boris Yeltsin Wednesday [22 January] to establish the state border with Georgia by this summer. The deputies explained the necessity of such a move by the unstable situation in Georgia.

Currently, the only border post on the Russian-Georgian border in the Lazarevsky district of Sochi checks at least 500 cars an hour making the control by militia forces difficult. In the Lazarevsky district 60% of all crimes are committed by people who have come to Sochi from Georgia.

Cossacks To Help Defend Moldovan Russians

LD2101110592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1930 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On January 18 Viktor Ratiyev, campaign ataman (captain) of the Don Army cossack union, left for talks with Dnestr ataman (captain) Igor Smirnov on defense of Russian population in Moldova.

Ratiyev told PF [POSTFACTUM] that, in his opinion, Russians are being persecuted by Moldavians. The Don cossacks are going to help the Dnestr area population in organizing armed resistance. Along with their captain, a group of cossacks went to Tiraspol, and they intend to join those who arrived earlier. According to Ratiyev the cossacks set out without arms. We'll get the arms at the site, he added.

Political & Social

Yeltsin Holds Talks With Kuzbass Miners

LD2301095792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—Problems of the socio-economic development of the mining region, the social protection of its population, and the provision of consumer goods were discussed during a meeting which took place today between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and representatives of the workers' committees of the Kuzbass. This was reported by the press center of the Russian president. Particular attention was devoted to the settlement of a number of unresolved issues withregard to the remuneration of labor for various categories of workers employed in the coal mining sphere.

Specific decisions were made by the president on the issues discussed and instructions were given to the republic's government.

Yegor Gaydar, deputy chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, took part in the meeting.

Supports Miners' Demands

OW2201232392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin received representatives of the Independent Kuzbass Miners' Trade Union and the Council of the Kuzbass Workers' Committees in Moscow Wednesday [22 January]. The delegation presented Yeltsin with demands by coal miners of this largest coal basin in Russia. The main demand is that the government start negotiations with the trade unions on new tariffs taking into account price liberalization by January 25.

Otherwise, as chairman of the Independent Kuzbass Miners' Trade Union Vyacheslav Sharipov who had taken part in the meeting with Yeltsin told INTERFAX, "a strike vould be inevitable." However, he said, Yeltsin has supported virtually all demands by the coal miners and given specific instructions to the government concerning the conclusion of new tariff agreements.

Rutskoy Interviewed on Commonwealth Viability

924C0375A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 2, Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent N. Zhelnorova on 25 December 1991; place not given; published under the rubric "A Political Portrait": "I Am Like the Emperor Without Clothes..."]

[Text] *"I am like the emperor without clothes," Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy told our correspondent N. Zhelnorova, referring to his current position—a title, but no power. This was the start of our conversation.*

[Zhelnorova] Are you now at peace with yourself?

[Rutskoy] To be at peace with what is happening today is despicable. It is unacceptable that we are pushing millions of people into poverty. Before the great perestroyka started we had 20 million people below the poverty line; now we have 100 million.

[Zhelnorova] Is there a sin you carry on your soul?

[Rutskoy] I have been in combat, pushed the trigger button. It is horrible.

[Zhelnorova] Can a politician be an honest person?

[Rutskoy] The entire skill of a politician revolves around how to remain an honest person. To a large degree, honesty is the result of competence and integrity. If you promised something—keep your word.

[Zhelnorova] How is it now?

[Rutskoy] Now we have anarchy instead of democracy. It is impossible to make a transition from dictatorship to democracy bypassing the process of firm authority, the power of the law. Therefore, we are now in the most vulgar, banal dictatorship—the dictatorship of the street and that of street leaders...

[Zhelnorova] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you are an idealist who counts on the power of the law. Think back in history—we have never had respect for the law. Now you want this genetic feeling to develop in two years! Tell us this: Who has real power in Russia—the mafia, the VPK [military-industrial complex], or the democrats?

[Rutskoy] The power of the VPK is nonsense. The mafia mindset is to be blamed on all our governments—including the current one that does not govern anything. (We do not have a government; we have a Bureau for Decree Publishing.) Everybody talks about combating crime, but nobody does anything. Crime will decrease when we start to show seriously that we care about our people. Look how little is allocated for bringing up our young. But crime feeds on the young. Look at the students' stipends and the price of slacks, shoes, dresses. Thus—prostitution, drug dealing, profiteering, racketeering...

We do not have a real power today. Power is where the laws are observed. Everybody disregards them these days.

[Zhelnorova] I heard that you are being removed from power. What for?

[Rutskoy] While I was on a business trip, all the committees created to oversee the course of reforms were shut down by a presidential decree.

[Zhelnorova] Do you believe that you were "used" when the votes of your supporters were needed in the election battle, and that you were invited to become vice president for reasons other than your political views?

[Rutskoy] There is such an assumption, perhaps an unfair one. At the time Boris Nikolayevich made this decision my position in regard to the transformation of society differed considerably from that of Democratic Russia. I like a systematic approach. I do not like all this yelling about "those communists" (what are we to do with them now, send them off to Mars?). Anyway, where did we all come from? Some even taught Marxism-Leninism. We are talking about a multiparty system and at the same time banning the Communist Party.

If a party unites some part of the public, one should not show disrespect for its members! It is only one step from Bolshevism to neo-Bolshevism. Democracy is the power of the people. So let us really make it so that it in reality it is the power of the people and not of the bureaucrats. How are the newly formed administrative structures of the cities, oblasts, republics, and the Russian state different from the old ones? They are the same; the sign has been changed, that is all.

[Zhelnorova] You have the reputation of a politician with a flair for frankness: you are direct, impressionable, and whatever is on your mind you immediately say it. Is your talent as a combat commander useful to you as a politician?

[Rutskoy] I never leap into anything in a frenzy. Pilots have a very good principle: think before you act.

[Zhelnorova] What, in your opinion, was Gorbachev's main mistake?

[Rutskoy] He was soft. You cannot please everybody, no matter how you try. You should only try to please the Law and the Constitution.

Gorbachev's mistake is also seen in the fact that the words of perestroyka led in actuality to the disintegration of a great power with which the entire world used to reckon. Now we are viewed as a "banana" republic that only begs. For me as an officer it is shameful. It is shameful that somebody provides me with canned food so I will not die of hunger—and that with our enormous resources.

[Zhelnorova] What about the Russian leadership—what major mistakes has it committed lately?

[Rutskoy] When a man is lost in the woods, he stops and tries to "lock onto" a reference point. The strategy of where we are supposed to arrive is in that reference point.

Let us start from the reform concerning transition to a market. We have just had price liberalization, but 98 percent of enterprises still belong to the state.

Can there be price liberalization when people have not received even 50 percent of the land in their private possession? Moreover, they have received neither housing nor enterprises, stock, or vouchers. This is a case where this government is no different from all its predecessors that used to say—just be patient a little longer, people; we will just strangle you with a price increase once, and then everything will be wonderful. We are again being patient, and still do not see anything "wonderful."

Look how sensible Turkey was when it opened its borders to imports. Our entrepreneurs, on the other hand, have neither prospects nor preferences.

[Zhelnorova] You say that you trust Yeltsin but distrust his entourage. You believe that they are to blame for the faulty steps he takes. But a similar analogy already exists, when the same was said about Stalin and his entourage.

[Rutskoy] Like any human being, Yeltsin has numerous shortcomings. But I believe in his honesty. I believe that many things cause him pain. His main shortcoming is that he sometimes allows himself to be led, like a marionette in a puppet theater. The president should be on par with the law. Especially considering that he has burdened himself with so many responsibilities...

[Zhelnorova] How do you feel about Yeltsin simultaneously taking the posts of president and prime minister?

[Rutskoy] I think he should not have done it. Boris Nikolayevich took upon himself obligations he will not be able to fulfill. Today he does not have the power—it has been pilfered by various administrations. One should not create such structures that pilfer power under the president. Burbulis is very good at that. He is the author of administrations, departments, committees, and commissions.

[Zhelnorova] If you were to form the Russian government, whom would you include?

[Rutskoy] I would not look at party affiliation but rather judge people by their intelligence and sober approach. I would include Yavlinskiy—he knows how to think four or five moves ahead, is very frank, and a gentleman (when his program was not accepted, he simply resigned). I would also take Gaydar and Shokhin. For prime minister I would appoint someone with an analytical mind, a manager. Ryzhov or Svyatoslav Fedorov, for instance.

[Zhelnorova] You said some time ago that the same people who advocated the disintegration of the Union will be advocating the disintegration of Russia. What did you mean?

[Rutskoy] Lately, everybody has been yelling: "The center means dictatorship!" But was it worth it to destroy a great power in order to destroy the dictatorship of the center? And why not destroy Russia now in order to avoid the dictatorship of the Russian center?

[Zhelnorova] What is your reaction to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]? Right now geography seems to be the sticking point.

[Rutskoy] These terrible "playing at president" exercises may end badly. Lawlessness begets absence of rights. I doubt that the CIS will last long (the conversation took place on 25 December—ed. note), that another fuhrer will not come in some sovereign state and say: "Why should I be a CIS member? I could not care less."

[Zhelnorova] These days unkind words are often said about Lenin. Do you also believe that he is to blame for our troubles?

[Rutskoy] This is wrong from a Christian point of view. Leave him alone, for God's sake. Seventy years have passed since then—enough time to build a different life. Now everybody is picking on Honecker. Leave the old man alone, too. He lived under that system!

[Zhelnorova] What is your favorite proverb?

[Rutskoy] "Measure one hundred times, and cut once." Or this one, from Gogol: "Russia has two problems: roads and idiots."

[Zhelnorova] How would you resolve the Karabakh problem?

[Rutskoy] I would not have allowed it to happen. Decisiveness is less costly than indecisiveness.

[Zhelnorova] Are you lucky?

[Rutskoy] Yes; not everyone gets shot down by a missile twice and survives.

[Zhelnorova] What is your salary?

[Rutskoy] As a vice president—at this point 3,200 rubles.

[Zhelnorova] Could you live on 340 rubles a month?

[Rutskoy] When I get my salary, I feel uncomfortable, even ashamed, when I see lines at the dairy stores and bakeries. We have been elected to help the people; instead, what is happening?

[Zhelnorova] What are you doing now?

[Rutskoy] Awaiting instructions from the president.

Burbulis Interviewed on Privatization Plans

LD1901220692

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1850 GMT on 19 January carries a 20-minute recording of an interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, first vice premier of the Russian Government, by correspondent T. Khudobina, on the progress of economic reform, privatization plans, stabilization prospects, agriculture, the Commonwealth, the armed forces, and his present trip to Scandinavia.

Asked about forecasting in the government's work, Burbulis cites the large amount of information gathered by means of visits to the localities and media information, on the basis of which he says: "The majority of the people of Russia, in spite of the most unusual, improbable, and at times, even wild nature of what is going on—in our Soviet consciousness—they are turning out to be deeply convinced that the reforms today are vitally necessary. It is not a belief in miracles, or some kind of lucky ruler, but a belief in this common reforming, Russian cause. This is a conclusion which clearly does not, perhaps, tally with occasional impressions in the growing shop lines, or in one or another specific collective. At the same time, in our place, it would be absolutely inadmissible not to try and investigate the relatively fundamental causes where such feelings are acquiring an organized and extremely tense nature, as you say, strike alerts and so on.

"I divide these feelings into two categories. One of them is whipped up by conscious enemies of reforms, people who disagree in principle with changing our social system and the whole structure of the economy, who still dream of feeding people through state distribution and do not even understand that it is impossible to do that today. The second category is those who do not think very much about any historical or political assessments of the situation, but are forced to react so sharply, and quite justly, to the real, living, practical situation in which they have found themselves, and their families, in which the inhabitants of their regions have found themselves. This is for us the most difficult, important and painful area, and in this case, we regard as the main thing for us not to allow those outbursts which could substantially hold us back in reforms, and topple us.

"We are currently trying to distribute more precisely the resources which we have immediately available, in principle, be it financial resources, be it supplies of goods and food products. Wages promptly, flour promptly, sugar promptly, various goods promptly—and the task is now arising to promptly curtail the arbitrariness which we had forecast to a certain extent, but not to the extent that is going on, including in the process of freeing prices."

Khudobina then asks Burbulis to comment on the process of price stabilization. Burbulis says: "We see four conditions for this process. First, we must insure that in the regions those norms and those methods that have been proposed for this liberalization procedure are observed unwaveringly, without infringing it. Second, we are now analyzing the extent to which that taxation regime was justified. That is, from the point of view of the principle, we are convinced that it is correct, and in this sense, we are united with the Supreme Soviet today too. But from the viewpoint of its application in a specific territory, in relation to a specific form of food, in relation to the specific implementation conditions, this may be adjusted.

"What do I have in mind? A trade mark-up, in particular. It is quite possible that for some kinds of food, it may be reduced in the interest of...without changing our budget principle...it is quite possible that it is necessary to seriously discuss the percentage of profitability for monopolist producers, and, in this regard, without introducing this as a universal principle, but applying it specific terms. [sentence as heard]

"The third condition is changing the role of the local bodies of authority and government in this situation. Finally, the last measure—we have grown convinced that it is absolutely pressing and necessary to introduce greater dynamism into the process of privatization in the sphere of trade and distribution while having at our disposal, in parallel, the removal of production structures—primarily agricultural production and processing—from state control.

"We intend to thoroughly review the place of trading organizations, of this abscess on the monopolist distribution structure of the economy, right up to and including winding them up, inasmuch as they are becoming not just superfluous places, but harmful places."

Khudobina then asks if it is possible to state precisely when this process of stabilization can begin, adding that this is a question that interests our television viewers.

Burbulis replies: "Our situation is such that this will take place at different times in different regions. And if I were to take the risk on this occasion to talk in overall terms, then the first stage of price implementation, of implementation under conditions of free prices, is due to be completed in two to three weeks. We will define precisely the principles of the behavior of all interested parties under these conditions. But stabilization in the normal economic meaning of the word, with due regard for those four conditions and factors, is a process requiring a couple of months."

Khudobina asks: "We know that any reform always brings with it a slump in production. This is what economists say, but on this occasion the people understand it, too. Nevertheless, when in your view is the mechanism for giving incentives to the producer going to start working? Are any measures being taken? For the producer sometimes reduces production artificially in order to maintain high prices. What can one set against behavior of that kind on the part of the producer?"

Burbulis replies: "First of all, we have to implement our strategic reformist task of changing ownership relations within the immediate production structures. It is a question of the privatization program, and at its next sitting on 23 Janauary the government is going to discuss the norms of the privatization program with regard to all facilities liable to privatization, be they federal or local. This is a legal document which today—if Russians will forgive me—is perhaps even dearer than bread. It is the legal, methodological foundation without which it is pointless to call for privatization. It is the immediate tool of privatization."

Khudobina then asks how the reform of the loss-making collective and state farms and the preparations for the sowing campaign will be combined in a sensible way. He notes that very little time remains before sowing begins.

Burbulis replies: "That is a very difficult question, a very difficult question. I can promise you and the esteemed television viewers that the government will not be taking any actions which would hamper this fruitful and essential preparation for the sowing campaign. The suspicion which is sometimes expressed nowadays is that the break-up of the collective farms and state farms is beginning with decrees signed by Boris Nikolayevich and government decisions. Nothing of the kind. It is a carefully weighed but at the same time radical and consistent process of reforming the conditions governing the use of land in the countryside. It is the fattening—in the best possible sense—of those who are prepared to produce and to cherish, so to speak, this peasant destiny of theirs."

Burbulis is asked whether the government is taking measures to prevent wholesale slaughter of livestock this winter, taking into account the fact that it takes three to four years to replace each animal slaughtered. Burbulis replies that livestock is being slaughtered due to shortages in animal fodder. The shortages have arisen because of the indebtedness of the former Union, which as long ago as September had to drastically reduce foreign imports because it no longer had the hard currency to pay for them. The present government is doing all it can to improve the situation, including spending valuable foreign currency on imports. However, this has not been sufficient to prevent the slaughter of livestock altogether. Burbulis expresses the opinion that despite the shortages, the instinct for self- preservation should prevent the peasants from acting purely in their short-term interests.

Replying to a question about his views on the situation within the Commonwealth, Burbulis says: "Our confidence in the Commonwealth has only one basis—that Russia has been given all opportunities to carry out reforms on its own territory and to bear the responsibility for this. The extent to which we are able to convince, interest, and include, through debate, the Commonwealth member states in this reform plan will now depend on us. The extent to which we permit ourselves to amend our reform path is dependent on their situation and prospects. We are already doing this ceaselessly. However, we will not of course permit the main aim of the transformations to be drowned in endless conversations, to be drowned in large and small violations of obligations, or to be drowned in a naive concept that there are two kinds of commonwealth—either a commonwealth of ritual meetings, conferences and protocols, or a practical, everyday one which concerns gas, fuel, electric power, the flow of goods, products and customs relations, ruble exchange, and so on.

"Russia is in favor of one type of commonwealth where what is of highest worth, the word of the leader, is turned into a well thought-out expert position and is worthy of being rigorously carried out by everyone. I think that the absolute majority of states which are members of the Commonwealth are guided precisely by this. And if we become convinced that some of them are maintaining a second plan of some kind, we will simply ask them to explain themselves. And it is possible to accept several models for participation in the Commonwealth, without any fuss: an action program fully agreed in all areas, agreed in specific areas, or perhaps agreed in some areas."

Khudobina asks: "Are you equally optimistic about the Army? Will we be able to reach agreement? The Army is, after all, the image of statehood and of the state which we are building both individually—each republic—and jointly."

Burbulis responds: "I believe that, regarding the Army, in the long run the principle of a professional army will triumph, with all the political and economic repercussions that will ensue. This means retaining combined armed forces, as per Kazakhstan's and Russia's position. God willing, we will form them in such a way that they fully befit a democratic state."

In conclusion, Khudobina asks about the goals of Burbulis' forthcoming visit to Scandinavia. Burbulis replies that he will be spending one day in Finland and one in Sweden, at the invitation of these countries' prime ministers. In Finland, the plan is to discuss a treaty between the two countries, to be signed by Boris Yeltsin during his official visit, scheduled for late February or early March. The general goal, says Burbulis, is to define Russia's place and role in the Baltic and north Europe and to confirm its desire to be a full-fledged member of the European process.

Burbulis Interviewed on Commonwealth, Reforms

PM2201143692 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 19 Jan 92 p 6

[Report on undated Moscow interview with Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis by Torgny Hinnemo]

[Text] The Commonwealth of former Soviet republics, the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], will grow stronger regardless of the current disputes over defense and the economy. So said Boris Yeltsin's closest aide, First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis, in an interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

"We did not take the step into the CIS from the moon, nor from the heavens. We took it from a totalitarian communist system. And from it we brought with us suspicion, mistrust, and a desire to solve all problems immediately and at someone else's expense."

Ideological and national strong-arm measures have become a new reality in the internal intercourse among the CIS states and this requires the development of a new political and diplomatic morality, Burbulis said.

But in the long term the Commonwealth will be a success because it is not a theoretical creation.

"It was historically inevitable and has come into existence under the collapse of the totalitarian communist system. The institution will grow stronger in its search for common interests and in time we will have full-blooded structures which serve this institution."

[Hinnemo] Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the Soviet Union's last defense minister who is now acting supreme commander, recently spoke pessimistically about the chances of retaining joint defenses within the CIS. He spoke instead of bilateral defense agreements between Russia and Kazakhstan, for example.

[Burbulis] The defense agreements from Minsk and Alma-Ata have not been implemented in practice as we envisaged. We therefore have two roads we could follow. We must produce arguments and show to all parties the economic and purely professional consequences if our aims are not achieved. But we can also reach agreements with those states with which we have no differences and which show solidarity in backing such defenses. My impression is that in addition to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia are ready to enter into such an agreement.

As far as Ukraine and Moldova are concerned it is necessary to make certain corrections. But we must not repeat the Soviet Union's mistake of trying to get all to join on the same terms and at the same time. We can leave open an agreement which we reach with some states today for those who for some reason or other are not ready at present. That is how you must view Marshal Shaposhnikov's statement. [Burbulis ends]

Gennadiy Burbulis received us in his office in the building which until the coup belonged to the Communist Party Central Committee. He almost apologized for the fact that he now rules from the same room as the former powerful party ideologists, Mikhail Suslov and Yegor Ligachev.

"This is all that there is available under the present economic circumstances," he said.

Burbulis, like Yeltsin, comes from the region of Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk) immediately east of the Urals. However, their collaboration, which has brought them ever closer, only began a few years ago in Moscow.

Burbulis, who was a lecturer in philosophy before he became a full-time politician, is often described as the engineer of Yeltsin's policies. Under perestroyka he was one of the first to leave the Communist Party. When Yeltsin was elected president just over six months ago his colleague was given the title of under-secretary of state with special responsibility for political strategy. He still has this responsibility, and when Yeltsin himself took over the post of prime minister two months ago he appointed Burbulis his deputy.

Yeltsin, who in his capacity as president moved into the Kremlin at the beginning of the year, spends every Thursday at the old Central Committee building elsewhere in Moscow. He chiefly holds consultations with the government inner circle, which consists of the two deputy prime ministers, Burbulis and Yegor Gaydar (chiefly responsible for economic reform), Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Justice Minister Nikolay Federov, Economics Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, and Viktor Barannikov, who hitherto has been interior minister. Barannikov was recently appointed head of Russia's security service, after a constitutional court rejected Yeltsin's decree merging it with the Interior Ministry.

On other days it is chiefly Burbulis with whom Yeltsin talks.

"There are days and weeks when we meet or have direct contacts several times a day. At other times it is enough to meet once. But it happens very seldom that we do not meet or are not in touch at some time during the day."

The most important change since they both took up posts in the government is that they nowadays seldom have an opportunity to travel together.

"Our relations are very cordial and we also do other things together. It happens sometimes that we play tennis, although I do not view myself as a serious tennis player," Burbulis said smiling.

[Hinnemo] Someone else who has been one of Yeltsin's most important supporters, parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, has recently called the government incompetent and criticized Yeltsin for taking on the burden of leading it.

[Burbulis] Those who consider that it was a mistake by Yeltsin to lead the government himself does not understand the character and the scale of the economic turmoil in Russia.

We reached a decision in principle that for a government to be able to realize the necessary reforms three special preconditions needed to be met. The first was that its leaders must have the strong political will that our head of state has. The second was that we had to break with our unhealthy habit of not building a cabinet primarily on the professionalism and competence of its members. The third was that the cabinet had to consist of like-minded individuals able to work together as a team.

If you understand the task facing us, then the president's decision—to lead the government himself—was the only one possible.

[Hinnemo] When a few years ago Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov wanted to implement a general price rise he was the target of tough criticism from liberal circles. Price rises not linked to other market reforms were meaningless, they said.

Your intention has been to link the price rises from the beginning of the year to other reforms, but privatization, for example, is clearly going slowly. Perhaps Ryzhkov today seems more of a realist than he was considered to be then.

[Burbulis] The price rises do not alter the Soviet system fundamentally. That is something that we are now trying to do for the first time.

But after all the years of discussions about fundamental reforms inside the framework of socialist illusions, the prerequisites have been complicated. Without the demonopolization of both the production and distribution sectors, the prices rises will have no lasting effect. But neither can we hope for an easy and swift privatization of these sectors.

The reason is that we are not suffering from just one, but from a number of economic ailments. However, the main cause of all of them is the disarray in financial and monetary policy. Financial and monetary policy is the economy's blood circulation as it were, and we have been stricken with economic leukemia. If we do not succeed in curing it, nothing else will help. If we were to delay price reforms, inflation could reach very dangerous proportions.

But we see now that privatization needs a quicker tempo and greater determination. Ryzhkov did not apply himself to this. We have to break Soviet thinking patterns and push the reforms so far that they are irreversible. [Burbulis ends]

Gennadiy Burbulis said that his government is to relax the purchase tax that was introduced at the same time as prices were freed. Critics take the view that the tax nullifies the stimulus which the higher prices could give to enterprises.

"What is most important is that we continue to pursue a firm tax policy. We have to have a balance between the state's expenditure and its income. And we have to have funds with which to protect those groups which are unable to take part in the privatization process—pensioners, those unfit for work, and students."

The most important aim of his trip to Sweden, the deputy prime minister said, is to explain to Swedish decisionmakers that Russia is now acting on the international stage as a full-blooded democracy. The country is able to meet its international commitments. Russia has taken its place in the European community not as an aggressive state like the old Soviet Union but as a civilized partner whose aim is economic cooperation.

"Sweden has always succeeded in preserving its own identity on the political map of Europe and the world. The dignity which this state has stood for has impressed us and in our efforts to maintain such a dignity we have something in common," Gennadiy Burbulis said to round off my audience with him.

Gaydar Rejects Government Resignation Rumors

LD2101203992 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—"The Russian Government does not intend to resign, and there are no grounds for such a step," Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar stated at a regular meeting with deputies in the "White House" here today.

Having recalled that President Boris Yeltsin of Russia had stated his firm support for the Russian Government's current policy, Gaydar remarked: "He has simply forbidden us to even raise the question of a government resignation. With this injunction received, we shall carry on our activities".

"Around us, there are quite a number of people who offer advice on how we should work. Their criticism is natural in a democratic society. Nothing unusual is happening: We visualised the situation in which the state has found itself. Such a situation cannot last indefinitely," Gaydar emphasised.

Khasbulatov Discusses Political Situation

LD2001230592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1858 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Interview with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, with correspondent Bella Kurkova in the Moscow studio; from the "Fifth Wheel" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kurkova] As has already been the case on more than one occasion, when times get difficult, we always invite Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov to speak on our video channel.

[Khasbulatov] You remember, yes?

[Kurkova] Yes, we remember. This probably is good because when everything is going well, it probably is not worth dragging you away from your work, and perhaps there really are situations that simply demand serious consideration and discussion. So now I would like to... [changes thought] A year has started, a very difficult year for many people because you have just been in the provinces and have seen how people really do not have any food, and how difficult life is during this period.

How would you describe this situation, because after all, the Supreme Soviet is one thing, the government is another? And later, there will be discussion of the responsibility of our Supreme Soviet and corps of deputies for what our government is doing today.

[Khasbulatov] Of course, I agree with you that the Supreme Soviet is responsible for everything that is going on in our country and that, in general, the situation in our country is such that we cannot say that the government governs, and we are shuffling various laws and are not responsible for these matters. Although, generally speaking, there have been quite forceful attempts to institute such a position for us, it seems to me that this is a completely foolish position. The government has to be responsible, and the Supreme Soviet has to be responsible, and the president, of course, is also responsible.

So, very briefly, how are events developing in our country now? Well, for me, to be frank, there is nothing unusual here. If you recall, during these pretty difficult conditions when, generally speaking, we on the whole agreed and adopted almost 30 decisions and draft laws of various kinds proposed by the government with certain amendments, there were many specialists, and I myself too, who had doubts of one kind or another, of course, doubts relating, primarily to certain specific matters. That is, first, whether we have a sufficient volume of commodity and material reserves to back up the liberalization of prices, of course. In effect, in our conditions of universal deficit, the liberalization of prices means increasing prices and nothing else. There is no liberalization of prices in any universally accepted meaning of this term.

So, a process of increasing prices is under way. And, in these conditions, how is it possible to bring them down? How can these prices be maintained, even at a sufficiently high level? This is by way of intervention, commodity intervention, by way of a certain pitching of various goods on to the market, even—albeit—in a limited quantity.

So what is being discovered now is that so far the government has not committed any particularly serious miscalculations in terms of calculating and saying that, in this or that month, say, at the start of February, we expect and we are firmly confident in expecting such and such a volume of goods, and such a volume in the next 10 days, and such or such a volume the next month and so on.

So for the present, a fairly typical development process in the sphere of price practice is under way.

So what is it that causes one to be on guard? One is placed on guard, of course, even by a certain inertness of people, a certain sort of submissiveness to fate.

Of course, thank God, there have not been any major social explosions so far.

[Kurkova] Too little time?

[Khasbulatov] Too little time has passed, and I think that people are waiting. Well, the president promised us and the Supreme Soviet and the government promised that liberalization of prices will ensure a certain flooding of the market with goods. Of course, people believe and people are waiting, and I think there are grounds for their waiting and we speak about privatization—well, it is a good thing—and taking into ownership: Shared, joint-stock, or any other form of ownership. On the other hand, we adopt such laws on taxes which strangle these enterprises and a worker does not care what form of ownership it is.

[Kurkova] State or private?

[Khasbulatov] Of course. Here, it seems to me that the policy of the government was not sufficiently thought out, and unfortunately, under the pressure from the public and the press—as soon as we object to some government's plans, our press kicks up a racket that there are reactionaries in the parliament and that you take no notice of the more progressive members of the government...

[Kurkova, interrupting] When one speaks to people, one can see that they have become rather desperate. Thank God, so far it is not taking the form of a social explosion. Perhaps deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet were wrong when they gave such great powers to the government?

[Khasbulatov] You know, this point of view is widespread, and I am more and more inclined to think that we were hasty. When members of the government were undergoing a very strict selection process and through the Supreme Soviet, a somewhat different type of a member of government had been formed—one who knew well the theoretical side, but above all the practical, the production side. Well, we need ministers who know life, what real production is all about—is it not so?—and not armchair scientists. But what has gone wrong? What has gone wrong is that, if you take our entire economy as 100 percent, traditionally 75-80 percent of our economy is merely production and heavy industries—the production of means of production—which have nothing to do with providing services to the individual: Clothing, foodstuffs, footwear, and means of transportation to get around. And only 20 or 25 percent of the economy works for people. There is no such economic structure anywhere in the world.

And just imagine, throughout all the so-called perestroyka years, not a single percentage change in the economic structure.

[Kurkova] Not even during the time of perestroyka when we were always saying that everything was for the people?

[Khasbulatov] In all those six years. That is right. So, not a single percentage change. We had this defective structure, antihuman, antipeople, and that is how it has remained. That is, most investments now, most finances and intellectual potential need to be directed into those spheres of production that work for people.

[Kurkova] But at the moment that is (?not the case)?

[Khasbulatov] There is no authority, that is the problem. And now, dwelling on, if you look further, our reforms, the reforms being put to us at the moment, which we are basically implementing already, they deal too much with the surface. The whole economic structure remains unchanged, and the suggestion is that we put into operation a finance, credit, and price mechanism, everything that is on the surface, in other words. After all, if there is no movement here, if there is no change, we should not be waiting for large-scale positive results. We should be sending reasonably good specialists straight into the oblasts and krays to help overcome this opposition where needed, along with the local authorities.

The whole country needs, you know, to be divided up into agreed upon units, and the president and the government, like directors, should manage it: In this area, things are like this, like this here. However, it is often the case that a law is adopted and that is it, we have cracked it; or we have adopted a decree, so we have done it; and so on.

[Kurkova] While no one is in control of whether anything is actually done?

[Khasbulatov] And yes, as for the action, there is no control over actually doing anything. Of course, the parliaments and the governments have a great many problems and deficiencies, and of course, we are working on these matters, and working very hard. I do hope we will be successful, and given normal economic reform, of course, the processes of price liberalization and privatization should have been done together. You know that I have criticized Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy on several occasions, but he is right about this. The process of liberalization and the process of privatization should have been done together. Then the economic reform would have been of more real value. As it is, it has not turned out too well.

Incidentally, how about this for ludicrous: Let us say the shops are privatized, and the trade outlets that serve them are not. They lose contact. Naturally, the trade outlets no longer have any obligation to supply a particular product to the same shops because a kind of rift is developing between them. I would like to take the opportunity to tell the viewers that the Supreme Soviet is in a very active and determined frame of mind and we will do everything to have an influence on improving things.

[Kurkova] Ruslan Imranovich, the situation is, however, such that, in addition to the defense industry, the issue of the Army is now quite serious.

[Khasbulatov] You know, what is it that makes up a state? Of course, it is the citizens, that is clear. Yes, and of course, elected officials, but the main element of a state is, above all, the people who officially possess arms, namely the armed forces, the armed forces. And second is the monetary unit. Well, as you know, the whole banking, financing, credit, pricing, and other systems are based on the monetary unit. Those are the two main elements that make up any state, starting from ancient Egypt or even the Kingdom of Babylon. Well, you and I are well aware of the state of the ruble. Now, if we also, say, permit the disintegration of the Armed Forces, you can consider that the two structures, the elements that form the basis of the state will cease to exist.

So, to be quite frank, I am most disturbed by these actions by the Ukrainian leadership which seemingly were not planned in accordance with the agreements. Why does the Ukraine need an army of half a million? I simply cannot understand this. Why does the Ukraine need cruisers and aircraft carriers? After all, this country of 20 million people will collapse beneath the weight of burdensome expenditures. Of course, it does not need it. Of course, from the point of view of its money resources, the Ukraine is not in a state, even physical, to maintain either the army or the fleet. It can be a question only of the elimination of part of the military potential, given such an approach.

[Kurkova] But if the Ukraine goes all-out in its aspirations to create this special army, and goes all-out in its demands for the Black Sea Fleet to be kept by itself alone, what are we going to do?

[Khasbulatov] I believe that we do not need that kind of Commonwealth. You know, the Commonwealth will not go anywhere without us. It is simply unnatural to assume that any modern state can exist alone, in isolation, not in community with anyone. The whole world demonstrates this fact. So if the Commonwealth does not work out for us now, then it will work out in 10 years. If, in 10 years, it does not work out, then in 20 years it will. However, if we allow the Army to be destroyed, we will never be able to restore it. So I believe that if a choice has to be made between the Commonwealth and our Army, then the choice should be in favor of the Army. This signifies the defense of our state.

[Kurkova] If we can discuss another important situation now: The population, people, have developed a somewhat different attitude today. Whereas they used to blame the Supreme Soviet for everything, whereas they used to blame the deputies for everything, they used to blame us for all our ills, as they say—perhaps they were right in their own way—but today the situation has already changed. Today people have learned to discriminate and to understand that the government bears full responsibility for both the economy and for the collapse of certain ties, or on the contrary, for the fact that these ties are going to be arranged, in the best meaning of the word. In short, there is precise understanding of the fact that today the government bears responsibility for everything that takes place in our Russian state. But are we not seeing the kind of situation arising that is talked about very frequently these days? Why do we need a corps of deputies at all?

In your view, is there not a desire to gradually get rid of the corps of deputies altogether and—so to speak—for a certain period of time, as a result of special circumstances, to deal with Russian deputies, say, in the same way as the Union deputies were dealt with. After all, we have created that kind of precedent.

[Khasbulatov] Well, to start with, I will begin with the first point. This is a very alarming and unfortunate precedent. If you remember, I have raised this issue three times in succession, trying to defend the position that the voter is independent, for the deputy is elected by the voter and only he has the right to recall his deputy. The Supreme Soviet of the Federation made a decision that was far from being the best one on this occasion. The Constitutional Court could have taken an interest in these issues. In other words, our deputies, we have ignored the will of the voters and have made that kind of...

[Kurkova, interrupting] It is understandable when it was a question of a party or Komsomol...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, a public organization, yes, I would not dispute that. All the same, these public organizations are not there, and then many people remember that everything was not totally in order there, although on the other hand I remember that I did express the view... [changes thought] and Sakharov, Academician Sakharov, also was elected by a public organization, by the Academy of Sciences. Surely we would not be able to get rid of him so quickly today, with a wave of the hand, so to speak, and he would cease to be a deputy.

[Kurkova] Things might move further in that direction.

[Khasbulatov] Things might go further, but that is not even the point. Things hardly will go further because Russia exists. While the Soviet Union has ceased to exist, Russia, thank God, still does exist, so this cannot go any further.

[Kurkova] In connection with the special provisions, can one say that what we need now, say, is a tougher form of government? Could that kind of thing arise? Does that kind of talk take place?

[Khasbulatov] What I think is this: Of course, talk of that kind does arise by virtue of two factors—one being lack of intellectual capability, to put it bluntly, and the other being an inclination toward uncontrolled power. Both the first and the second of these factors are dangerous for the state, for society, and for the individual. Why? Today one can say absolutely firmly that the Supreme Soviet is a powerful prop for presidential power; that is beyond doubt. Parliament, the Supreme Soviet, naturally takes upon itself a huge quantity of dissatisfaction: Public dissatisfaction, world dissatisfaction, and so on. Incidentally, exactly the same thing happens in any state. For his own part, of course, the president, too, strengthens the authority of parliament, working in conjunction with it, preserving an attitude of respect, taking parliament into consideration in exactly the same way that the Supreme Soviet takes the president into consideration. In other words, there are two forces and neither of them can exist without the other.

Many deputies, you know, are put on their guard and exchange opinions in the corridors, the chambers, and the committees; opinions along the lines that the fairly large, new presidential apparatus that has been set up—no doubt, this is how it should be; it is difficult to judge now; we have not had anything to compare it with so far in the 74 years that our state has existed—that it is very difficult to work in cooperation with the apparatus, to use the usual expression nowadays, that sometimes it is impossible to get through the tightly packed entourage, which in some cases even cuts out the possibility of cooperation between the corps of deputies and the apparatus of presidential power.

Over a short period of time, in which out of an apparatus consisting of two or three people many hundreds suddenly emerge, it is clear that the majority of these staffers are completely unprepared for this work. After all, the administrative apparatuses, both of the presidents and prime ministers in other countries, have taken shape over decades or even centuries. In our country, you will recall, a very harsh party system was formed in a pretty bureaucratic manner. It is true that a great deal was kept together on it, but today, many people probably understand that...

[Kurkova, interrupting] So to some extent, we have now carried over some of our structures from this?

[Khasbulatov] We have carried this over, especially with respect to personal attachments. At times, for our new leaders, you know, instead of attracting an intelligent individual from the outside, it appears better to get an idiot closer to home, but who will be more cautious, so the story goes.

[Kurkova] His own idiot?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, his own. Evidently, we are so intimidated that we have ceased to value intelligence, but consider it more important to value reliability, failing to understand that, generally speaking, reliability and intelligence are interrelated things. I will say bluntly that, in fact, it is rare that there are intelligent people among villains. There are actually few truly cultured, educated, intelligent people among them, such unreliable people, blatant careerists. So in fact, those the upper echelon got hold of may make decisions without stopping, which creates an external background of some kind of profundity, but in essence they are ignorant, in essence are anti-intellectuals, there is nothing of the intellectual in them. So these successful, drab little people—they do indeed appear to shine, and so on—but they are in fact distinguished by their unreliability. And in our country, very often they are regarded as reliable, and incidentally, they betray...

[Kurkova, interrupting] ...more often. The example of Gorbachev showed...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] The example of Gorbachev is a classic, a classic example. You see, he selected people according to the principle of personal devotion. They were not selected for their intelligence. And all for what? It is possible to think, you know, that every person may live 10 lives, as it were. Only, at times it becomes very sad, on account of that struggle at a time when people...

[Kurkova, interrupting] ...(?often) ambitions, yes?

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] ...are suffering. Yes, exactly. People are suffering, one has to think after all of how to save people, how to save the fatherland. I do not know what can be a more noble task.

[Kurkova] I would like you to share your thoughts a little. How do you assess the very rash, very hasty departure of Gorbachev? This all took place quickly, somehow, at the last moment. What do you think, will this person return to politics, and to active political life?

[Khasbulatov] You know, in our time, it is rather a tricky thing to make predictions, and especially, as we know, predictions with regard to the Russian state. It is trickier than in any other country, perhaps. Well, I do not rule out Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's return to some sort of active political work.

[Kurkova] Were you sorry for him?

[Khasbulatov] Well, you know, of course I was. Why should I not be? At the same time, to be frank, I am not sorry that he has left the political arena. Why do I say that? Because I had occasion to work with Mikhail Sergeyevich a great deal...

[Kurkova, interrupting] But do you not recall that on 28 March, you were not able to agree with him when the military hardware went out onto the streets...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, but, you know, that was a small thing...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Yes, but I am simply talking about this question...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, but you know, we had gotten together already—the Council of the Federation; the Security Council; no, the Council of the Federation met—we had met to discuss the Union treaty. You see, what they are saying about the Commonwealth now was proposed by us in August of last year. What is more, on a completely, qualitatively different basis. When I showed this draft treaty to the Baltic republics they said: Oh, if it is adopted, even we would put our signatures to it.

[Kurkova] Right.

[Khasbulatov] That is how it was. I was so sharply criticized at the time, here and among our own deputies, that I was even on the point of vindicating myself. If at that time...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Gorbachev had done so...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] ...Gorbachev had done so, you know, we could have preserved the Commonwealth, the Union—it could have been called the Union—and the Army, and we would have had none of what is happening today. Of course, he had no such political farsightedness. That was, I believe, one very serious strategic shortcoming on Gorbachev's part. The second thing was, of course, that he directly assisted in those centrifugal processes that are developing in the Russian Federation. He and Lukyanov simply called up the leaders of the republics and Russia and said: If you leave Russia, we will accept you in the Union...

[Kurkova, interrupting] They provoked them?

[Khasbulatov] Provoked them.

[Kurkova] To the disintegration of Russia?

[Khasbulatov] Provoked them, bluntly; I know this. Perhaps one other, or two others know, but it is only a very small circle who know. I was the first one to tell him; I recall one conversation we had. I said: Mikhail Sergeyevich, you are Russian. I am not Russian. Are you not ashamed of breaking up Russia? It was not you or I who created Russia; it was created by generations, over a period of a thousand years. All the peoples who populate Russia are used to living in one state; good or bad, it is their state. Why are you trying to destroy Russia? He said: Why are you preparing to make agreements and have talks with the Union republics? If you stop having talks with the Union republics, we will stop having talks with your autonomous republics. Well, just imagine that...

[Kurkova, interrupting] That was blackmail.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, you can call it blackmail, but it was an incommensurable concept, an absolutely incommensurable concept. Before Gorbachev and Lukyanov had taken this course—by the way, this was a course toward setting up the autonomies against the Russian leadership, against Yeltsin and against me; by this means they tried to weaken us and to bring us down; that was the scheme—if they had not taken that road, I think it would not have entered the head of any of the leaders of our republic that one could act in such a fashion. I told them: You are mistaken. You think this now.

I remember there was once a frank conversation when Boris Nikolayevich, Silayev, and I met on our side and Ryzhkov and Gorbachev on the other side. I remember that even then, I expressed this idea: You are mistaken. You think now that you will bring us down and set the reactionary forces on us, including the leaders of our republics; you will bring us down, then everything will resume its natural course once more and you will get a peaceful country again. No! You now are inflaming such passions as later will assume autonomous development, and no one...

[Kurkova, interrupting] And you will not be able to control it.

[Khazbulatov] And neither you nor anyone else will be able to control these processes.

[Kurkova] That is what happened.

[Khasbulatov] This was what was said more than a year ago.

[Kurkova] Can I ask you a question that is not really in the sphere of politics, if you like? Your family is having a difficult time now because the situation is not easy and your mother is...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, my mother is there and my sister and two brothers, of course...

[Kurkova, interrupting] In Groznyy?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, they are in Groznyy. Of course, they have a difficult time, to put it plainly. They suffer mental stress of a very serious nature. And the saddest thing is that I have greatly criticized the party bureaucracy in Checheno-Ingushetia, Vlasov and Zavgayev, and other former party figures there because of the ethnic policy. Bribe-taking and corruption were common. The saddest thing is that bribe-taking and corruption now are taking place on an even greater scale. Apparently, the new rulers feel that they are hardly likely to be there for long, and the impression of experts and observers who have analyzed the situation well is that they are likely to be in a hurry to sell and buy and get something for themselves. This is, of course, the most tragic thing that could have happened.

[Kurkova] Would you bring your family here?

[Khasbulatov] Frankly speaking, I have nowhere to put them. I have nowhere to put them, you see. Where would I house them? I have nowhere. Where I live, you know, in Arkhangelskoye, I have a little house.

[Kurkova] Tell me a little about the situation regarding your apartment, a situation so incredible that today you practically have found yourself homeless.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, unfortunately that is so. We all started feeling poorly in the apartment, and I am really sorry I moved because it is even less comfortable than the one in which I lived in Medvedkovo, on the outskirts of Moscow.

[Kurkova] And that was closer to your work?

[Khasbulatov] That is right. It is on Leninskiy Prospekt. It was very noisy. A lot of writing went on, but actually it was incredibly uncomfortable: There were no amenities, no storage space for the family at all. Altogether it was very, well... [changes thought] but that is not the point. We started to feel ill, and after a couple of months, the specialists came along to have a look, and it turned out there was more than 12 times the electric background, as I...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Magnetic. Your doctor told me that they were adamant that the family move. The apartment was like a metal cage, for want of a better word, a magnetic cage. Is that right?

[Khasbulatov] Probably. I do not really know what was going on. They did some research into it and reached their conclusions. What emerged was that the electromagnetic background is 12 times too high, and permanent residence there is impossible. It is all right for a day or two.

[Kurkova] Insomnia set in?

[Khasbulatov] Weakness, insomnia, you know, psychological pressures, discomfort, and so on, all are facilitated by that kind of setting. True, it is not for me to keep an eye on my own condition, but it does seem to me that I have always...

[Kurkova, interrupting] But your children, your wife!

[Khasbulatov] Well, that is right. Anyway, we had to move and now we are living in Arkhangelskoye at the dacha.

[Kurkova] But it is not possible. The children will have to go to school again.

[Khabulatov] Well, of course, it is fairly complicated; it is not easy. But so what? There is no point in worrying, I think. We will get by somehow.

[Kurkova] But without the support of the family and when you're assured that everything is all right with your mother and your brothers, everything is all right in the family, that must have an effect on your work.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, of course, you are right. It is an open wound for me, and then you know, everyone has gotten it into their heads that I sanctioned the introduction of the emergency situation in Checheno-Ingushetiya, but when I saw that decree it had been signed already.

[Kurkova] No one even asked your advice, you mean?

[Khasbulatov] You know, I was in favor of the same kind of conduct as in Dagestan and in Ossetia, with the local authorities themselves introducing...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Deciding...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Deciding for themselves, taking into account the possibilities of disorder. You know, when this kind of situation was introduced in Dagestan, and I was actually there, incidentally, and calmed people down to some extent that things had not gone as far as clashes, but it was the authorities, the local authorities themselves that did the introducing. I was a supporter of precisely this route.

[Kurkova] An internal route.

[Khasbulatov] That is right, yes. But it happened differently in this case. People close to me have said: Why did you not say that you are not to blame? But it is not my way to be saying...

[Kurkova, interrupting] To justify yourself.

[Khasbulatov] ...I am not to blame, it is the fault of my comrade, etc.. If we are working together, you know, my style is that I am willing to take responsibility upon myself...

[Kurkova, interrupting] To share the responsibility.

[Khasbulatov] To share this responsibility, that is right, no matter how heavy it may be. But it seems to me that nevertheless things are moving in the direction of the people themselves having to choose their own path, their leaders, in accordance with the laws, of course, and in accordance with the will of the citizen. Only the citizen, the person, must be sovereign in our country. Human rights must be above all else. Above the president, above whoever you like. No one must violate human rights. The whole of the hierarchical ladder, which is crowned by parliament and president, say, is built upon the foundation of the rights of the person and recognition of his rights. If we violate the primary cell, where the rights of the individual are born in the very place where he makes his appearance on earth, if we violate this, we will never build a democratic society.

Further Details of Coup Commission's Findings

PM2201142392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 4

[G. Sobolev article under the "Political Investigation" rubric, followed by unattributed "Stop Press" report: "A Gap in the Stenographic Record"]

[Text] "The results of the USSR vice president's election at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies were probably falsified, although G. Yanayev himself almost certainly had no knowledge of this," according to A. Korshunov, aviation construction industry worker and member of the former USSR Supreme Soviet Commission To Investigate the Circumstances of the August Coup. "Generally speaking, the nomination of candidates for top state positions in the last few years virtually boiled down to M. Gorbachev's personal opinion."

In Aleksandr Aleksandrovich's opinion, V. Pavlov was let down by his weak character. As for V. Starodubtsev, he was an altogether incidental member of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. The commission established that A. Lukyanov was not in charge of preparations for the coup, learned about it while on vacation, and events in Moscow came as a surprise to him—this has been confirmed by documents.

"In my view, his unwitting guilt lies in the fact that Anatoliy Ivanovich did not immediately convene our Supreme Soviet," A. Korshunov believes. "Our speaker was let down by intuition... I think that he was trying to find the best option for the country—and failed. I know Lukyanov from our joint work in the Supreme Soviet, and I am convinced that he, more than anyone else, is now regretting what has happened to our state—the disintegration of the single Union and the collapse of the economy."

During his work as member of the commission, A. Korshunov realized that describing the Communist Party as the concentration of all evil is, to say the least, wrong. Rank and file Communists wanted only what was good for the people. Therefore, having studied the documents, the deputies emphasized: The leaders with party membership cards who announced that they were taking over all power in circumvention of the Supreme Soviet must be held responsible. On the other hand, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich is worried: Could it happen that blame for the present chaos will be apportioned at the forthcoming trial of the "Matrosskaya Tishina" prisoners, even though it was not they who brought the country to the disintegration which shook it in the last few months.

Apart from anything else, the commission studied the circumstances surrounding the elections of top officials, including the USSR vice president. Now that the facts have been organized to present a systematic picture, it has become clear that, while talking about democracy and rule-of-law state, the country's president essentially decided by himself who would occupy which position. He put forward G. Yanayev's nomination without coordination with either the Federation Council or the Supreme Soviet Presidium—deputies were told this by chamber chairmen I. Laptev and R. Nishanov who, having heard talk about Yanayev at the Congress, asked Lukyanov what it was all about, but it emerged that the Supreme Soviet chairman himself had learned the future vice president's name only three hours before the vote.

"The protocols of the country's Federation Council and Supreme Soviet Presidium contain virtually nothing about discussions on cadre questions," A. Korshunov said. "This is hardly an accident. The tradition of making decisions behind closed doors was painstakingly preserved. Whenever the discussion touched on cadres, M. Gorbachev used to declare: 'Thank you all, we will continue the discussion in a narrower circle.' And that was the end of the stenographic record."

Ballot papers for the vice presidential election were never ordered officially. They were photocopied following verbal requests by members of the Congress Tellers Commission. It is not known to this day how many ballot papers were printed for the first and repeat rounds of voting, how many were unused, and how they were cancelled. Going through one of the envelopes bearing an inscription that it contained 236 ballot papers cast "in favor," A. Korshunov and his colleagues discovered four ballot papers "against" and two spoilt ones. There is total confusion as regards the signatures of Tellers Commission members on its protocols, while forensic scientists have determined that a series of signatures had been entered by persons unknown...

"We failed to prove that the elections were falsified," A. Korshunov noted. "In any event, however, the opportunity to do so existed. If this is the way a rule-of-law state was built in our country, we people's deputies failed in performing our task—to establish genuine people's power and supremacy of the law. I assume that, from the very beginning, G. Yanayev was being groomed as a scapegoat, so as to be later accused of all the mistakes committed by the country's leadership—this is the answer to the riddle why this man was so insistently pushed into the vice president's post."

All this, in A. Korshunov's words, is directly associated with the August coup's causes. Illegality begets illegality—this is the conclusion to be drawn from the materials collected by the commission.

Stop Press

While investigating the SCSE case, Russian Federation General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov confirmed, we came across a series of documents testifying to instances of financial irregularities when transferring money abroad. The prosecutor announced this at a press conference 21 January. It has been established that the KGB played an active role in this activity. But these materials have now been transferred to a separate case assigned to a different investigating group.

It looks as if the flood of criminal cases prompted by the tragic events of August 1991 will continue. For example, a separate case has been opened on the basis of a statement by one of the accused that someone from Gorbachev's closest entourage had been taking bribes (so far, no specific names have been released to journalists so as not to obstruct the investigation).

As for the putsch itself, its "anatomy" is no longer a secret.

The investigation has been concluded and, according to KRIM-PRESS reports, the detainees have been charged with "conspiracy to take over power in the country." The Criminal Code article containing this formula provides for 10-15 years' imprisonment or the death sentence. But the decision is up to the court.

Court Proceedings Over Yeltsin Decree Detailed

PM1701134392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Valeriy Rudnev report: "Constitutional Court Abolished B. Yeltsin's Decree on Creating the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs: This Decision Is Final and Not Subject to Appeal"]

[Text] At its first public hearing 14 January, following eight hours of discussion and over two hours of deliberations in camera, the RSFSR Constitutional Court unanimously declared the Russian President's Decree "On the Formation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs" to be inconsistent with the RSFSR Constitution.

The background of this issue has already been expounded in detail in the press, including in IZVESTIYA (No. 305 and No. 308 in 1991, and No. 7 this year). While debates raged over the Russian President's sudden and dangerous step—different versions were expressed and conjecture was fueled—the 13 recently elected members of the RSFSR Constitutional Court, led by Professor Valeriy Zorkin, doctor of juridical sciences, prepared to hear their first case. And this case turned out to be that of the examination of the Russian president's Decree on the Formation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs [MSIA].

The Constitutional Court's sitting was awaited impatiently. It was a first for everything: for the procedure, whereby top republic officials had to defend their innocence publicly and answer not just the court's questions but also those of the litigating parties; and for the conduct of the court members, who were elected for life... But most important of all, people awaited a decision on a vital question of today: Is there a real division of powers in our country? Is there a force capable of the legislators, and the president himself, in check?

The court sitting began at exactly 1000. The litigating parties were: Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, representing the deputies' group; and Sergey Shakhray, state counselor on legal policy, combining this position with the post of deputy head of the government, representing the Russian president. Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov and RSFSR Supreme Court Chairman Vyacheslav Lebedev were in the hall (their presence at a court session, like that of the republic general prosecutor—who was travelling on official business that day—is obligatory), along with witnesses from among the militia and state security leadership, experts, and journalists.

V. Zorkin explained the standing orders and procedure: The terms "Esteemed Court" or "Esteemed Judge" must be used when addressing the court: testimony must be given standing: and only questions relevant to the problem under discussion can be asked. Then came the first surprise: an appeal by Boris Yeltsin to adjourn the examination of the case sine die. The court disagreed with the president's arguments, pointing out that he was informed of and invited to the court session in good time... and it refused to grant the request.

The next procedural step was the case report. Vladimir Oleynik, member of the Constitutional Court, spoke on this issue. He expounded the main facts of the case, and cited the arguments "for" and "against." Then the litigants were given the floor. Mikhail Mityukov gave a detailed analysis of the decree on creating the MSIA from the point of view of the Constitution, existing legislation, and the Concept for Judicial Reform approved by parliament. The view of the parliamentary committee chairman was unequivocal and firm: Essentially, the MSIA represents a threat to democracy and the rights of the republic's citizens, and the decree on its creation is anticonstitutional.

A speech by Sergey Shakhray, opposing, who, incidentally, is a past chairman of that same parliamentary committee, was less cogent and firm. His words revealed traces of uncertainty when he spoke about the political propriety of the question under examination and in the legal analysis of the decree. It was felt that Shakhray was in fact opposed to the MSIA but that duty compelled him to defend B. Yeltsin's viewpoint. Incidentally, the efforts by the president's representative to rebuke court members for bias and for political overtones in their questions were nipped in the bud by V. Zorkin. He suggested that S. Shakhray address the court respectfully and refrain from insinuations.

Next the floor was given to the experts, once they had taken an oath on their obligation to base their opinion on their own knowledge and personal conviction. The first to speak on behalf of this group of academics and lawyers was Professor Sergey Vitsin, doctor of juridical sciences. His colleagues had come to this conclusion: "Experts have found no grounds for rescinding this presidential decree—neither in terms of compliance with the Constitution or other RSFSR laws, nor from the viewpoint of the guarantee of citizens' rights and freedoms, nor in terms of expediency."

Another group of experts—whose views were presented by Aleksandr Larin, doctor of juridical sciences—reached a different conclusion. They did not just analyze abstract legal norms, but also real events in the life of society—from the State Political Directorate down to the KGB. The experts recalled that the leaders of the August putsch had cast the USSR MVD and KGB in the role of the putcsch's strike forces. It seems it was a lack of departmental coordination—among others, between the militia and chekists—which saved us from the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Experts believe that separate functions for state security and the protection of public order constitute one element in the system of checks and balances, without which no rule-of-law state can operate stably. But in practice, the decree on creating the MSIA could jeopardize constitutional order, human rights, and Russian civil rights, and therefore it should be deemed inconsistent with the constitutional duty of the president, Aleksandr Larin stated.

The court heard testimonies from first deputies of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin and Anatoliy Oleynikov (who, incidentally, gave the court a formal pledge to speak the truth and nothing but the truth), but they added no real arguments to the debate. It was clear that high-level constitutional matters were not within their range: their testimony relied purely on their practical experience of work in the organs. However, even their experience was not sufficient to answer a simple question from the court: Exactly who prepared the draft decree? Both generals replied evasively. According to them, nothing special has happeneed in their departments since the formation of the MSIA—things go on as normal, and there is no likelihood of merging the security organs at local level.

Other witnesses were more candid. Some revealed plans for the immediate merger of security organs not just at the center but at local level too. Some convinced the court that the MSIA was unwise from an economic viewpoint. Yet others tried to prove the reality of the threat to human rights posed by the new ministry.

The statement by Aleksandr Yurchenko, deputy chief of department at the Russian Federal Security Agency Main Directorate for the Struggle Against Organized Crime, caused a sensation. First he told the court about order No. 5 on the MSIA. It was issued in case of possible violations of public order during the further implementation of the price liberalization policy. MSIA plans included the joint operations by the special security services, mobile groups, and mobile reserves—in short, everything necessary to suppress public disturbances. This plan is already being brought into operation.

No less sensational were the words uttered by Minister Viktor Barannikov at a Conference of MSIA Officer Personnel 27 December last year, which were cited in court by A. Yurchenko. This is what he said: "The people are sick of perestroyka. The president's only support in the current conditions comes from the Armed Forces, and the security and internal affairs organs... I shall deal with the lobby opposed to the merger and the fulfillment of the presidential decree..."

The statement by witness A. Yurchenko did not just have an impact on those present (the hall was buzzing, and V. Zorkin had to tap the microphone angrily), but also on the judges. It turned out that the ministry had concealed certain documents from the court. The followed a second cross-examination of A. Oleynikov but this did not clear anything up. Then the court proposed that the first deputy minister for security and internal affairs produce immediately a copy of order No. 5 together with a stenographic report of the minister's speech. One hour later, the documents appeared and were read out. Yurchenko's words were confirmed...

S. Shakhray tried yet another maneuver: He proposed that V. Barannikov be called to testify and that the current hearing be postponed. The court did not adjourn—the petition was rejected—and the hearing continued.

The last element of the proceedings was when the litigants were given the floor. Both Shakhray and Mityukov maintain their positions. The court retires to chambers to consider its verdict.

At last, the verdict is delivered—on behalf of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, even though parliament recently asked us to use a new name, the Russian Federation (Russia).

After examining in open session the case relating to verifying the constituionality of the Russian president's Decree "On the Formation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs," the court resolved: to adjudge this decree inconsistent with the RSFSR Constitution from the point of view of the division of legislative, executive, and judicial powers within the republic, as well as the demarcation of competence among the higher organs of state power and management as enshrined in the Constitution. The said resolution is final: It is not subject to appeal, and will come into force immediately after its proclamation. In legal terms, this means that the Russian president's decree on the formation of the MSIA and all other normative acts and their individual clauses based on or derived from it lose judicial force and are considered invalid. All juridical relations based on the said decree revert to the status they possessed before the adoption of the anticonstitutional decree.

Apart form that, the Constitutional Court specified: The legality and constitutionality of actions by officials during the drafting of the rescinded decree, and questions relating to the failure of certain witnesses to appear in court and the nonsubmission of a number of documents, will be examined by the court subsequently.

The court has had its say. How are the government and the president going to act now? S. Shakhray holds the following opinion: "The court's decision is not a legal one, but a political one. But the government must abide by it."

Furthermore, it has emerged that Boris Yeltsin, after hearing of the Constitutional Court's decision, has ordered his advisers to find a way out of the situation within the next 24 hours. However, surely there is nothing to find: The court has shown the way out—the MSIA has "passed away." Or does the president still have an opportunity to block the decision by the judicial authorities? Even if that decision is final and not subject to appeal?

State Counselor Accepts Court Ruling on Decree

PM2001144692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report from "Official Section" column: "Constitutional Court Decision Adopted for Implementation"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's chief editor has received an announcement from the Office of the Russian Federation State Counselor on Legal Policy.

The Office of the Russian Federation State Counselor on Legal Policy is empowered, on behalf of the president of the Russian Federation, to announce the following.

On 14 January 1992 the Russian Federation Constitutional Court pronounced invalid from the moment of its adoption the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 289 of 19 December 1991 "On the Formation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs" and the acts issued on its basis. The president of the Russian Federation and the government of the Russian Federation will without fail take all steps stipulated in Russian Federation legislation to implement the decision of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court.

Unfortunately, it was not so much a legal evaluation of the normative acts under consideration and their compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the laws of the Russian Federation, as political and ideological motives which had the decisive influence on the final decision of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court. In this connection it should be noted that the entire practical implementation of the reforms in Russia in the sphere of the economy and state administration demonstrates the Russian president's desire to widen citizens' freedoms, and this invalidates all suspicions of the desire to curtail democratic processes. A far greater danger for democracy lies in the increasing tendencies and attempts to enter into opposition to the Russian president, who was elected by the people, and the Russian Government which he heads.

The difficulty of the task facing the Russian Federation Constitutional Court in examining the decree of the Russian Federation president lay not only in certain historical aspects of the problem broached in the decree, but also in the imperfect nature of the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation, which makes it possible to choose different interpretations of what the Constitution prescribes, depending on political expediency.

Therefore, with a view to improving the legal base for the activity of the highest organs of legislative, judicial, and executive power in Russia, it is necessary to accelerate the adoption of a new Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Atmosphere in New Foreign Ministry Assessed

PM2101105392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[Article by Sergey Semendyayev: "Foreign Ministry at the Crossroads. When Will Our Diplomats Have a Code of Honor?"]

[Text] Writers are very fond of using a variety of metaphors. For example, if they need to stress the powerful agitation gripping a large mass of people in a closed space, they never fail to compare it to a disturbed beehive. But it would be difficult to compare the Foreign Ministry building on Smolenskaya-Sennaya Square to a beehive even externally, although a bold writer might compare the upheavals that are now affecting the former Soviet foreign policy department to a visit to an apiary by a bear with a sweet tooth.

In accordance with the well known Russian presidential decree, the entire apparatus and property of the USSR Ministry of External Relations have been transferred to Russian jurisdiction. According to the same decree, the numerical strength of the diplomatic services should have been if not significantly, then appreciably reduced. Considering that two massive former Soviet ministries—Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations—had merged with the corresponding Russian departments, you might have expected more pessimism among the employees over uncertain future careers and further cadre shake-ups. Some were expecting promotion, others were filling in documents for long foreign trips—and suddenly along comes the reorganization!

But I went down many Foreign Ministry corridors, went into offices, talked with people, and saw that, despite the principles of continuity in the work of the new Foreign Ministry staff declared by the Russian foreign minister, distrust and uncertainty remain, I believe.

In fact, they are inevitable concomitants of any transitional period, but in the old Foreign Ministry, whose apparatus was formed in, to put it mildly, hothouse conditions, such conflicts have a rather deleterious effect. Nonetheless, one can conclude from meetings and conversations in the corridors of state that most diplomats are not that pessimistic about the future.

Clearly, this is due to the recent address to Russian Foreign Ministry staff by Gennadiy Burbulis, who formulated not the principles and areas of Russian foreign policy, but, rather, the provisions of a code of honor for our diplomats. Basically, the diplomatic corps has never determined the country's foreign policy strategy—that has been carried out in quite different offices—although a good strategy requires talented professionals to carry it out, without whom it would remain just an idea on paper. So the Russian Foreign Ministry leadership is now concerned primarily with preserving the positive experience of its predecessors and keeping highly professional diplomats. And, in so doing, preserving for Russia their links and influence abroad, in international organizations.

But the current reorganization also affects certain delicate matters which there has been a taboo on covering in the past. We are referring to the old cadre policy in the Foreign Ministry, which was directed from Staraya Square [CPSU Central Committee building]. Together with the truly professional staff, there are many high-ranking sons- and brothers-in-law and even more diplomats who were paid by quite a different department, namely, the one with "iron" Feliks outside it. What is to become of them? Do not be in too much of a rush to answer this question. You cannot, indeed you must not, shoot from hip, as Boris Pankin tried to do. Without doubt, the problem requires a radical solution, but compromises are essential.

The future existence of the 24 foreign economic associations that formed part of the Union Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations structure is particularly problematic. Some of them have already gone public, but most of them are still living off intergovernmental foreign credit agreements, and some of them are in debt. As well as the Union ones, there are another seven Russian foreign trade associations, whose future is also uncertain because of the general reorganization, although it would be perfectly reasonable to keep them as Russian foreign trade houses, or in another form.

The retention of the present staffs in Russia's missions abroad is also in doubt. This is a worry not only for those currently working abroad, but also, of course, for those who are expecting to go there in the foreseeable future. Certainly, for a long time the Foreign Ministry was attractive because it offered a real opportunity to spend some years outside the country where "developed socialism was built ahead of schedule."

My notes have an element of anonymity. While sharing their hopes and fears, the Foreign Ministry officials nonetheless asked not to be named, because they do not know how the reorganization in the Russian dioplomatic department will end. By and large, life is normal in the Foreign Ministry. Perhaps this is the guarantee of its future efficacy?

Christian Democratic Head Interviewed on CIS

PM2301095592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with RSFSR People's Deputy Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement Political Council, by Boris Slavin under the "Viewpoint" rubric; place and date not given: "We Have All Been Deceived..."]

[Text] "We have all been deceived..." This is the conclusion which RSFSR People's Deputy Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement Political Council, has reached regarding the agreement on the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

[Aksyuchits] We are told that the Commonwealth was necessary in order to unite peoples. In my view, the concept of the Commonwealth is leading to the complete opposite: to the final disuniting of all the former union republics, and the three Slav republics above all. Why? Because, in my view, it benefits only nationalist regimes. In the Ukraine, for example, which has received from Russia guarantees of the inviolability of its borders, including the Crimea, the possibility of consuming Russia's resources (oil, gas, power), and the possibility of declaring its own commander in chief and seizing the Army, Navy, and then even nuclear weapons too.

We did not discover this straightaway. When I asked Yeltsin what amendments the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet had made to the CIS agreement he said that they were editorial amendments. But in fact they were nothing of the kind. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet had adopted a decision on national borders and the need to eliminate the Union Army and turn it into the Ukrainian Army. I asked Boris Nikolayevich whether the top leadership of the Russian Federation realizes against whom the 20 divisions of the former Soviet Army in the Ukraine will logically be directed? To this the president replied: "Not 20 divisions. We agreed to resolve in a coordinated fashion who gets how many divisions." I also asked whether Kravchuk had coordinated the question of his appointment to the post of commander in chief of all the Ground Forces and the entire Black Sea Fleet in the Ukraine? Do you what our president said in reply? "Yes, he coordinated it: He called and told me to become commander in chief of the Russian Army."

Can you picture this process of coordination, which is presented to us as a joint constitutional decision? In my opinion, complete legal mayhem reigns here: They are taking account of neither the Union constitution, nor the RSFSR Constitution. The disintegration of the Union will bring in its wake Russia's disintegration also. After the Minsk agreements the seizure by former union and autonomous republics of various weapons and units of the Soviet Army becomes lawful. First in line are Chechnya and Tatarstan. All this could lead to large-scale wars between the republics.

[Slavin] What alternative did you see to the CIS?

[Aksyuchits] Rapid conclusion of a new Union Treaty with the republics that wanted to conclude one. A new treaty would have removed many of today's problems. Above all, the preservation of legal succession in all spheres, including the international sphere. There would have been no quarrels about the Army. It would have remained the Union Army. The new Union could have begun talks with the Ukraine on the withdrawal of troops. This issue would have been resolved over, for example, five years. The unified ruble area would have been maintained, as would the unified banking system, possibilities of implementing economic reform without hindrance, and so forth. Unfortunately, the Russian leadership missed this opportunity and has thereby in effect neglected Russia's national-state interests.

[Slavin] Why did this happen?

[Aksyuchits] Because after August liberals who had been schooled in the previous totalitarian regime came to power in Russia. Because of this their notions of reality are limited. They are destructive in politics. They do not understand that if a block manager is negligent, he must be sent packing or replaced with another, but at the same time, the building itself should not be destroyed. Despite of differences in form, the policy of the liberals in Russia and the policy of the national democrats in Ukraine are in many ways closely interwoven. The upshot is that a once mighty state with a 1,000-year history is collapsing before our very eyes, and, moreover, the possibility of nuclear catastrophe cannot be ruled out.

[Slavin] How do you assess the economic reform being implemented by the Russian Government?

[Aksyuchits] The reform has simply not begun. Gaydar's concept is adventurist in many respects. Under the guise of reform what is being carried out is the division, or to be more exact, the plunder of state property, this time by the new nomenklatura. There are no free prices, because the latter occur only in the market when various forms of ownership collide, when you have a powerful private sector.

[Slavin] Are you not embarrassed by the fact that your reasoning in many ways coincides with the viewpoint of the new left, including the communists?

[Aksyuchits] Today all healthy forces are consolidating, whatever their origins. According to Dostoyevskiy, the line of good and evil passes through the heart of every man, but it does not divide people into good and bad. We are therefore always open for dialogue with all constructively-thinking forces, including Communists.

[Slavin] Could you give a forecast of the development of our society?

[Aksyuchits] If the Russian leadership does not alter its policy on the national-state structure and economy, there will be a social explosion. In turn, such an explosion could force B. Yeltsin to tighten the screws and establish a dictatorial regime. And that will lead to Yeltsin losing power. He came to power on the wave of the democratization of society. Rejection of democracy would be disastrous for him. We supported B. Yeltsin when he fought to dismantle the Communist regime, but we will never support him in the destruction of Russian statehood.

[Slavin] Why do you rarely appear in the democratic press, but have agreed to give an interview to PRAVDA?

[Aksyuchits] Today there exists a monopoly on democracy. Only the viewpoint expressed by the liberals who are in power is declared democratic. But viewpoints which oppose it, without which there can be no democracy or pluralism, are declared antidemocratic. Thus in all the mass media, including the Russian mass media, we are not published, they call us imperialists, chauvinists, and even fascists, no less. The authorities, despite promises, have simply not provided an office for carrying out party work. As for PRAVDA, today it has become in many ways an independent paper and represents a wide spectrum of political forces, so I agreed to appear in its pages.

Russian National Republican Party Registered

LD2001210192 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The National Republican Party of Russia [Natsionalno- Respublikanskaya Partiya Rossii] has become the first officially registered political organization of a national patriotic orientation in the Russian Federation. At the Ministry of Justice, a certificate of registration for the party as been handed to its representatives. The party set the objectives of restoring Russian statehood and reviving the Russian nation and Russia's historical traditions. According to its leader Nikolay Lysenko, the party has several thousand members.

National Revival Party's Tasks Explained

PM2301090192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Valeriy Ivanov, chairman of the Russian National Revival Party Central Council, by V. Petrunya under the rubric "Parties, Movements"; place, date not given: "With Faith in Russia"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A new political organization—the Russian National Revival Party [RNRP]—has emerged in the multiparty spectrum of the Russian Federation. It took organizational shape toward the end of last year. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's observer attempted to identify the party's aims, tasks, and forms of work during a conversation with Valeriy Ivanov, chairman of the RNRP Central Council.

[Petrunya] Recently it has become politically fashionable to go all out to demonstrate commitment to the ideas of Russia's revival. All and sundry swear by this. Meanwhile, Russia is getting deeper and deeper into the morass of chaos, uncertainty, impoverishment, and moral corrosion. And now we see yet another party appearing in the political sky, carrying on its banner the selfsame appeal for revival. Are you just being fashionable?

[Ivanov] Our party's establishment has nothing in common with the actions by sundry political timeservers and adventurers who are playing the Russian card in pursuit of their personal, group, or other interests. We neither understand nor recognize as serious the populist slogans like "Russia Must Be Revived Without Fail!" We are convinced that the revival of the Russian state should be taken on not by rootless internationalist nonentities but by indigenous Russian people—Great Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians in fraternal alliance with those indigenous peoples who, despite all the temptations of pseudosovereignization, are unlikely to betray the cause of goodness, fairness, and creation: The Russian people remain loyal to these very values to this day.

Being a Russian party, we set ourselves the task of genuine Revival for the indigenous, working, and employed people—the trinity that makes up the Russian people.

[Petrunya] The party's program documents make frequent mention of the idea of unification. How can this task be accomplished in practice?

[Ivanov] Indeed, both the Program and the Concept adopted at the party's constituent congress in December are based on realization of the vital need for comprehensive unification of all Russian people around the idea of the nation's and Russia's revival. This can be achieved in particular by reviving the Russian spirituality and national world philosophy on the basis of the sacred traditions and teachings of the Orthodox Church and the nation's entire historical heritage. Next—rehabilitation of the victims of repressions during the periods of anti-Russian obscurantism and pursuit of a social policy promoting an all-around boosting of our people's living standards. Implementation of market reform and privatization of individual sectors, taking into account the Russian people's specific contribution to the creation of the all-people's state property. Finally, creation of a Great Russian state—Great Russia—within the Russian Federation's structure.

In today's conditions, it is highly important to create a Russian national sector of the economy, banks, exchanges, commercial and credit-finance institutions, and professional associations of Russian specialists and creative workers. Creation of territorial communities in each population center, multistory apartment block, and so on all over the Russian lands. One serious task is to create the institution of Russian National Assembly. Its purpose would be to coordinate the administration of Russian lands until a Great Russian state is formed within the Federation's structure.

[Petrunya] Even so, it is evident that the political party is based on certain ethnic foundations. Is there not here a danger of transforming the ideas of revival of the Russian national spirit and Holy Faith into the notorious bogey of great-power chauvinism?

[Ivanov] Our party unites Russian people who share the ideas, goals, and tasks formulated in its fundamental documents.

At the same time we advocate comprehensive development of friendship and cooperation with all people of good will. The party is open to members of other peoples and nationalities in Russia. RNRP organs at all levels will have national sections for the peoples and ethnic groups of the Federation.

The pure idea of revival cannot degenerate into "great-power Russian chauvinism" because this term is false and at odds with the entire historical experience of our nation's development. Name even one Russian chauvinist, if you can. Anyone you can think of... It is time to cast this term, fabricated by Russophobes from bolshevism, onto the dustheap of history.

I am convinced that there is hardly another people in the world in whom respect for the feelings of people of other nationalities is as deeply ingrained as in the Russian people.

[Petrunya] It looks as if you are accusing bolshevism, this "totalitarian anti-Russian regime in the USSR," of all mortal sins. But bolshevism no longer exists. While the party was being created, the state known as the USSR was being destroyed. True enough, as far as the totalitarian regime is concerned, it can be heard increasingly often that it is being reborn in a different image. Could it be that you are basically tilting at windmills?

[Ivanov] I cannot agree with the claim that bolshevism no longer exists. In my view, Russian-hating bolsheviks exist to this day in our organs of power and state administration. As well as their ethnic descendants and their spiritual heirs. They are all united by hatred for the Russian people and yearning to raze everything to the ground and then "build a new world" of their own.

Genocide, incidentally, is a broad category. It covers the actions by our official authorities to alcoholize working people, to encourage the process of young people's demoralization, sexualization, and drug addiction, and to develop a model of man's super-exploitation without precedent in human history, including exploitation through the foreign economic plunder of the Russian people.

Nonetheless, at the present stage our party intends to put emphasis on creative work. We are talking about creating a multitude of unions of Russian specialist and various firms and organizations, and organizing actions to protect the interests of Russian people and revive a state formation for Great Russians.

We have no intention of engaging in a "witch-hunt."

[Petrunya] Your party has proclaimed a demand—to give Great Russians the constitutional right to self-determination via the revival of a Russian state formation within the RSFSR and the creation of a Great Russian state. This is perceived as the first stage of the revival of a single and indivisible Russia. To what extent is this idea feasible? Is there a clear-cut and methodologically elaborated program for it? Furthermore, seeing that the party's documents emphasize "good neighborliness between people of the indigenous nation and other nationalities," how would such a state differ from our present Russian Federation?

[Ivanov] We perceive the main avenue for Russia's revival to be the creation of a Great Russian state within the structure of the Federation, the Russian national home. Such a radical measure is justified by the actual legal essence of the contemporary Russian Federation. The sovereignization of autonomous formations within the RSFSR's structure has transformed it into a federation of equal peoples. However, each and every sober-minded person realizes that the Great Russians in the Russian Federation, just as it happened earlier in the USSR, are not a member-people of this Federation, which means that they are not proportionally represented in the power systems, the management organs of science and the national economy, the banking, credit, and finance sphere, the trade network, the radio and television, the mass media, and so on.

We are convinced that a Great Russian state could become the state of Russians within the RSFSR's structure. Its creation will make it possible to avoid the destruction of the defense potential, the sharp (below permissible levels) reductions in the Army, Navy, and law enforcement services, and the collapse of the unified national economic complex.

To put it briefly, the creation of Great Russia will strengthen and consolidate the RSFSR.

[Petrunya] One gets the impression that some of your party's program stipulations are getting obsolete almost before they are formulated. For example, there is the following specific demand: "Kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be reorganized along similar lines to industrial enterprises and transformed into joint stock structures." And yet just before New Year Russia's president issued a special decree, in other words a willful decision, which de facto broke up the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system. In this process, neither the president nor your party asked the peasant which form of management he preferred. I am no supporter of the existing kolkhoz-sovkhoz system, but tell me, what is the point of democracy when the party and the president alike dictate: Reorganize?!

[Ivanov] I would like to emphasize that the economic sections of our Program and Concept are underpinned by the principle of ensuring joint ownership of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other spheres by the working people. The sentence you cited contains an important stipulation: "...in which specialists, workers, and kolkhoz members are co-owners." We are convinced that the attempt by some politicians to totally discredit the kolkhozes and sovkhozes is impermissible in principle. This system fed and still feeds our people, and its demolition by extremist methods could bring the country to an unpredictable disaster.

It is a different matter that, by boosting incentives for rural workers by giving them the legal status of co-owners of a sovkhoz or kolkhoz and an opportunity enabling the most energetic among them to become free crop farmers, the peasant farm could be gradually revived and the entire agriculture could be switched along market tracks.

[Petrunya] What is the basis of your faith that the new party will succeed in "reviving the Russian nation and Russia and comprehensively protecting the honor, national dignity, and right to exist of Russian people everywhere?"

[Ivanov] These are our tasks. In actual fact, the revival of the Russian people and Russia is already under way and we all are eyewitnesses of and participants in this process. Increasingly broader social strata are becoming aware of and are raising the Russian question.

As for the faith that the tasks set by our party can be achieved, it is based on an awareness of our people's unique contribution to the development of other peoples in the RSFSR, the USSR, and many states. This contribution is without equal in the history of what is known as progressive mankind.

'Russian Club' Formed To Assist Development

LD2201011992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] On 21 January one more patriotic organization—the Russian Club [rossiyskiy klub]—was set up. This organization set itself the task of assisting the political, economic, and cultural development of the fatherland through active interaction with the Russian structures and organizations concerned and also with representatives of the Russian diaspora. The organizing committee of the Russian Club is headed by Sergey Stankevich, adviser to the Russian Government. According to him the club is an elitist—in the good sense—cultural and intellectual center. It will exercise intellectual influence on the development of Russian statehood and at the same time engage in implementing specific programs in the humanitarian sphere.

Monarchists Join Forces With Rightist Groups

PM2201142992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 2

[Own information report under the rubric "Nothing But the Facts": "Not to the Detriment of the People"]

[Text] The first session of a rightist block of forces and movements was held in Moscow on 17 January. The members of the block are the Russian "Revival" party, the Russian National Party, the Russian Monarchy Party, the Russian Liberal Party, and the "Monarchical Rus" political movement.

Aleksey Brumel, the regent of the Russian monarchy, has been elected chairman of the bloc.

The bloc's main demands are: the resignation of the Moscow government, and also of Mayor Popov and Vice Mayor Luzhkov; and a demand for the unity of the Commonwealth Armed Forces to be preserved. Participants in the session view the so-called liberalization of prices as a "premeditated, calculated provocation to the detriment of the people, a deception of the people."

The bloc supports as the country's state structure: a confederation of republics with a mixed social system, without borders or customs, and with a unified currency and a unified army and navy.

Lenin Anniversary Observers Censure Government

OW2101192092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The anniversary of Vladimir Lenin's death was marked in Moscow on Tuesday [21 January] with a meeting and a wreath-laying ceremony that involved some 2,000 people, most of them pensioners. Speakers at the meeting that took place near the Lenin Museum likened the present situation in the country to that of October 1917. They censured Russia's government for "opening the door to capital at a time when the country is facing famine and the full stoppage of transport."

Some of the orators warned that a wave of strikes and other protest actions might seep Russia in the near future, since "there's no room for half-measure in the struggle against imperialism." The audience applauded the call "to help the working class and peasantry break free from bourgeois influence" and "scrap the profit-thirsty cooperatives, banks, exchanges and associations."

With slogans and banners in hand, participants in the meeting marched onto Red Square to lay flowers at the Lenin Mausoleum. A policeman on duty said there were around 600 people in the square.

Lopatin Views Status of Army Reform

92UM0360A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Colonel Vladimir Lopatin, former USSR people's deputy, deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions, by Pavel Felgengauer; place and date not given: "The Power Struggle in the Army Could Lead to Its Collapse"]

[Text] **Colonel Lopatin asserts: "General Kobets' people have been appointed to key posts in the Army. In order for them to be more devoted, they are being bought and paid for with rank.**

On 18 November 1991 the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI published an interview with Colonel Vladimir Lopatin (former USSR people's deputy, deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions): "The Power Struggle in the Soviet Armed Forces is Gathering Force."

In the interview they discussed particularly the growing disagreements between the USSR defense minister, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and the chief of the General Staff, Army General Vladimir Lobov, regarding the question of the authority of the General Staff. According to Lopatin, Defense Minister Shaposhnikov and Army General Kobets have formed an alliance against the chief of the General Staff. But this "alliance will not be long-lived and it is extremely dangerous for the Defense Ministry itself."

Several weeks passed, and on 7 December General Lobov was removed from the position of chief of the General Staff.

Today Colonel Lopatin tells NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA readers about what, in his opinion, awaits the Army in the near future.

[Felgengauer] How can the power struggle in the Ministry of Defense affect the course of the reform? What are your predictions about the subsequent development of events?

[Lopatin] At the end of August 1991, Army leadership was taken over by new people and there were some hopes of reform, but at the same time there were alarming signs of dissension among the new leaders. A triangle was formed: Army General Konstantin Kobets (state adviser to the Russian president, chairman of the Commission on Military Reform), Vladimir Lobov (chief of the General Staff), and Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov (USSR minister of defense). The contradictions first became apparent in the collegium of the Ministry of Defense on 17 September. The discussion was about dividing up functions between the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Each proposed his own model and, naturally, more power for himself. Ultimately these contradictions led to the resignation of the chief of the General Staff. But the struggle for power continues.

There are also serious contradictions between the leaders of the defense departments of the republics and the current leadership of the Ministry of Defense. The more desperately the leadership of the Ministry of Defense tries to keep a maximum of power in the Army in its own hands, the greater the threat that it will lose everything altogether. A reasonable compromise is needed.

Unfortunately, the agreements reached in Minsk on 30 December are a poor guarantee of a compromise. Mainly because in its present form the Ministry of Defense will not conduct military reform, since it has no motivation to do so. Decisions to reform the Armed Forces should be made not by the USSR Ministry of Defense but at the level of the parliament and government. The USSR Ministry of Defense will not represent the interests of the republics or even the interests of the Armed Forces as a whole. It will always represent only its own interests. For example, in the proposals of the Ministry of Defense for the military budget for 1992 it is suggested: Allot an additional 2 billion for salaries, 0.3 billion for pensions, and 2.7 billion for housing construction, which under the conditions of growing inflation means a real reduction of social expenditures. And it is suggested that purchases of arms be reduced by only 27 percent, while expenditures on NIOKR (scientific research and experimental design work) should remain the same. The interests of the military-industrial complex and the military elite obviously coincide.

Another example—the only reform in the Army so far—is the "elimination" of political organs. They started to return to the previous situation in spite of recommendations from the commission under the chairmanship of Dmitriy Volkogonov.

At first the Ministry of Defense approved the commission's recommendations for reforming political organs and the Main Personnel Administration (GUK), but by December they changed their views. I do not know whether it was out of good will or under pressure, but the result was the same—arbitrary behavior is increasing in the Army and the best people are leaving.

[Felgengauer] But, after all, changes in the Army are inevitable...

[Lopatin] A unique situation has developed: Everyone seems to agree with the idea that the Army needs to be reformed, but nobody wants to do it—everything is entrusted to the Ministry of Defense. The National-Patriots and the Neo-Bolsheviks have actively engaged in a struggle for power over the Army, speculating on the military in a difficult social situation and at the same time opposing real attempts to resolve the problems that exist. The principle "The worse, the better!" is being realized.

For example, let us trace General Kobets' actions since March 1991. From March through December he headed the Russian Committee for Defense Questions. For a year and a half before that I was the head of that committee, performing the duties of the first deputy. I was not allowed to form a committee since it was expected that a chairman would be appointed. But after General Kobets was appointed nothing changed—the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions was still not formed, and in October its former leader was actively speaking out against the creation of a military department in Russia.

In September 1991 General Kobets headed up the commission of the Ministry of Defense for analyzing the activity of the leadership during the period of the coup d'etat. The commission began to receive materials from the units and a great deal of information was accumulated on military leaders and chiefs, but it was never called for. And, after all, the people took a risk when they reported information about their own superiors.

[Felgengauer] Were you on that commission?

[Lopatin] Yes, and on 26 October I wrote a letter to the chairman (General Kobets) requesting that he call a meeting and invite representatives of the parliamentary commissions for investigating the coup. In response to this General Kobets sent Marshal Shaposhnikov a draft order to terminate the work of the commission. And on 5 November there was an order disbanding the commission because it had "completed its work," although the commission essentially never did function.

As a result, many military leaders ended up "indebted" to General Kobets. After all, he could have fired them but he did not, and there was a reason for that.

Finally, with our help, General Kobets was appointed chairman of the committee for military reform.

[Felgengauer] Specifically whose help do you have in mind?

[Lopatin] It included mine. I was one of those who repeatedly called the people close to the president and spoke with Aleksandr Yakovlev regarding this question to get him to convince Gorbachev to sign an ukase for the creation of the committee and the appointment of General Kobets as quickly as possible. I sincerely hoped that this person would do the work, but after the appointment was made on 23 September, General Kobets left on a business trip abroad for half a month. But little changed even after he returned. The committee never convened and died, nor was it ever born. And General Kobets, speaking on behalf of the nonexistent committee, called for the republics to entrust to him the decisions on the joint military budget, joint structures, and military reform. At the interrepublic meeting on 28-29 November I was forced to speak out openly: "Why are you deceiving us? You know there is no committee!"

Sad as it may be, it seems to me that personal interests ended up being more important than the interests of the cause. There is a struggle for power. General Kobets' people have been appointed to key posts in the Army. In order for them to be more devoted, they are being bought and paid for with rank. Here is an example: Two people from General Kobets' team who were later to hold posts in the Main Personnel Administration of the Ministry of Defense (GUK). General Yuriy Rodionov became chief of the GUK and deputy minister of defense. In September he was still a major general and in November he was already a colonel general. Colonel Samoylov went to this same place (GUK), having become a major general in October and in December—a lieutenant general. For if you give a person something he does not deserve, you can expect him to be obedient later. That is actually what happened: There continues to be chaos in the personnel assignments that are the responsibility of the GUK. And yet the former personnel policy, which was based on principles of personal devotion to one's immediate superior, is quite unacceptable under conditions when the Army is professional. General Rodionov, true, announced that he would fight against protectionism. But how can he fight it if he himself was assigned under the protection of General Kobets? For now he is actively fighting against innovations in the personnel policy.

There was also an attempt to get back at me. In September I was called out of the reserve and given the rank of colonel. This, incidentally, caused me more inconvenience than benefits and privileges, about which all kinds of rumors are being spread. Nothing has changed in my social status and my position has not changed either.

[Felgengauer] The current military leadership might not be very good, but after all there is no army without generals, and where can we find different ones?

[Lopatin] We have to form an institute of reformers. We must separate the actual military administration from the general management and political offices. In September Chief of the General Staff General Lobov agreed to such measures, and Marshal Shaposhnikov initially supported this idea as well, but then everything was overturned.

The Armed Forces must operate only under strict state control. Russia must have its own Ministry of Defense. Otherwise the Army will begin to solve its own problems independently. As for generals, there are quite a few who are intelligent military professionals who know the traditions of the Russian Army. And they should serve in the professional army.

[Felgengauer] The struggle for power is, of course, bad. But sometimes a certain element of competitive struggle can lead to good. Thus during the course of the latest interrepublic discussions of defense issues General Kobets put forth a plan for reorganizing the Army which was an alternative to the one proposed by Marshal Shaposhnikov. And it is the plan proposed by General Kobets that was the basis of the draft discussed on 30 December in Minsk.

[Lopatin] If General Kobets were consistent and always acted from such positions there would be no need for an alternative plan. For we introduced similar proposals earlier, beginning in October 1990. But, in so far as I can judge, General Kobets is guided by the principle "The worse, the better." Advisers and those close to Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov insist on not conducting any serious reforms. When the reforms are inevitable, General Kobets will play the role of the reformer. This is why in the interview in the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI I said that the alliance of Kobets and Shaposhnikov was not permanent and was extremely dangerous for the defense minister himself.

[Felgengauer] Do you still have this opinion now?

[Lopatin] Yes.

[Felgengauer] What awaits the Army next year?

[Lopatin] I am convinced that a reform of the Armed Forces will still begin through a transition to voluntary staffing and service under contract. Trade unions will also be created and the status of the military person will be legitimized. If the transformations continue to be "held up," a complete collapse of the Army will begin. Personnel cuts are inevitable, but the fate of those who have been cut should be at the center of the attention of state organs. I hope that 1992 will bring more stability to the Army. On both the social and political planes.

Internal Troops Chief Savvin Interviewed

PM2201110592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General V.N. Savvin, commander of Russia's Internal Troops, by Boris Karpov and Aleksandr Simonov; place and date not given: "We Serve Under Fire"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Let us introduce our interlocutor: Vasiliy Nesterovich Savvin was born in 1939 in the village of Dobrino in Voronezh Oblast's Liskinskiy Rayon. He graduated from the Military Command School in the city of Ordzhonikidze (now Vladikavkaz) and the M. Frunze Military Academy. He has served in the Baltics, the North, and Siberia. In recent years he headed the Internal Affairs Administration for Troops in the Northwest and the Baltic Region.

[PRAVDA] Vasiliy Nesterovich, it so happens that in peacetime the Internal Troops have found themselves on the front line, you might say. Karabakh and Fergana, Baku and Tskhinval, the Baltic region and Checheno-Ingushetia, Moldova, Georgia... All hot spots where shots have continually been fired, confrontations have taken place, and blood has been shed. It is largely thanks only to the Internal Troops that rivers of blood have not flowed. Thank you for that. It was probably hard for you, as the commander held entirely responsible for people's destiny, was it not?

[Savvin] Very hard. And not just for me alone. But it is gratifying that the Internal Troops have withstood with honor the trials that have fallen to their lot in an extremely complex and contradictory situation and remained true to their constitutional duty and the people, that the Troops have not besmirched themselves in any way. On the contrary, I could cite tens and hundreds of examples of our servicemen's valor and bravery. The Union has fallen apart, but we will never forget that Oleg Babak, a lieutenant of our Troops, became a Hero of the Soviet Union precisely in 1991—the only one in the Troops' entire postwar history. Regrettably, this title was conferred posthumously.

[PRAVDA] Lieutenant O. Babak is not the only casualty of the Transcaucasian war, for dozens of servicemen of the Troops have died there. Major General of Internal Troops N. Zhinkin and Major General V. Kovalev, chief of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] Internal Affairs Administration, who also came from the Troops, died when an Mi-8 helicopter—also belonging to the Troops, incidentally—crashed at the very end of the year. Did you at that time say to yourself: "Enough! It is time to get out of Karabakh!"?

[Savvin] Our troops in that region found themselves drawn into a political confrontation. We were convinced of this when we began work with the Russian and Kazakh missions to settle the conflict. Throughout the confrontation each of the hostile (I could also say bluntly—warring) sides tried to secure our subunits as its allies. But this was a wittingly dead-end version of a way out of the crisis situation. We tried, jointly with the Russian and Kazakh delegations, to elaborate a program for a political solution to the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] problem which would be acceptable to Armenia and Azerbaijan. What it boiled down to (and this was said at the State Council session last December) was a mutual cease-fire, withdrawal of illegal armed formations from Karabakh and from both republics' border regions, and use of Internal Troops forces to guarantee public order on these territories. But Armenia's and Azerbaijan's leaders did not back this program, thus rendering the continued stay of Union operational units in NKAO pointless. Incidentally, they arrived there as peace-makers but were being shot by bullets fired by both hostile sides.

[PRAVDA] The presidents of former Union republics and now Commonwealth states are rushing, one after the other, to take under their jurisdiction units of the former USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops, in other words those selfsame units which were created through joint efforts by generals and officers and your own efforts, Vasiliy Nesterovich. How do our servicemen find life "abroad?"

[Savvin] Nowadays life is difficult everywhere. As far as I can remember, Internal Troops have always found life hard. And even more so now. The results of a random sample study by our sociologists testify that 61.6 percent of officers' families live beneath the "dignified poverty" line and only 22.3 percent of families enjoy relatively "high" average per capita incomes of 350 rubles or more, these being mainly single officers and childless families.

The increased compensation payments prompted by the price hikes and the 90-percent salary supplement have no impact as regards raising officers' living standards in conditions of galloping inflation. Bear in mind that an officer's average workday lasts 10 hours and 54 minutes, which is 20 percent more than the workday in industry.

The "parade of sovereignties" will inevitably lead to migration of officers' and warrant officers' families, and yet service transfers involve major material expenditures, only 5-10 percent of which is reimbursed by the ministry. There is an endless list of such depressing figures...

The Internal Troops' life today is an open secret—everyone is aware of the dangers of serving in hot spots, guarding corrective labor institutions, and maintaining public order in the streets of Russian cities while crime is on the increase. All in all, over the last few years, very few people have failed to abuse the Internal Troops in the mass media instead of helping and demonstrating the state importance of the tasks we perform. Yesterday's graduates of higher military schools are top-class professionals and a truly precious asset of the troops. But when they see the indifference with which their future is treated, they get up and leave. What will we be left with in the near future? Work is being done to prepare draft documents aimed at boosting social protection for the troops' officers and warrant officers but... we are still awaiting a solution.

[PRAVDA] And how about the conscripts? After all, soldiers should be given everything they need. The soldiers have always been loved by the people...

[Savvin] Exactly—by the people. Because the soldiers are the people. But the people are being increasingly forgotten nowadays. Independent states in the newly baked Commonwealth demand internal troops but are in no hurry to provide proper accommodation for soldiers of the recently formed operational and specialized motorized militia units or to feed them according to regulations. People live in the direst of conditions. All credit is due to their selflessness and patience, but this cannot go on indefinitely.

Conscriptions from the republics have now ceased. In these conditions the General Staff, taking advantage of its monopoly position, is unwilling to fully satisfy the Internal Troops' needs for young reinforcements, let alone the selection of draftees to serve in our troops. What is to be done in this situation? It is necessary to either change the system for the Internal Troops' manpower acquisition, especially as regards conscripts, or reduce the volume of tasks assigned to the troops. People are overloaded. But they are only people, 18-year old kids, not experienced men!

This problem calls for an immediate solution—this spring we are already likely to experience a most serious crisis with the troops' manpower acquisition. Who will guard corrective labor colonies? And yet we must take into account the deteriorating criminogenic situation not only in the country but also in the corrective labor colonies themselves.

[PRAVDA] What changes might lie in store for the Internal Troops in the new year?

[Savvin] The tasks they perform are already being reviewed and proposals are being elaborated to consolidate the Troops' legal status. This is very important. No serious state decisions have been adopted during the 70-plus years of our troops' existence to define their role, position, functions, and tasks. The result was that, without a clear-cut legal basis, the troops' activity was guided by interim government decisions, ordinances, and orders issued by sundry ministries and departments. The time has come for the supreme organs of state power to define the nature of Russia's Internal Troops. The law-governed state which our society is striving to build must give top priority to the law. Therefore, there is an imperative need for a law on Russia's Internal Troops, and I hope it will be adopted in the new future.

[PRAVDA] The troops were withdrawn from Karabakh quickly and without undesirable excesses. But what is the situation in South Ossetia and Groznyy?

[Savvin] Troops were sent to South Ossetia to disarm illegal armed formations even before the state of emergency was introduced in Tskhinval. Now that there has been a change of leadership in Georgia, we hope that the armed conflict in this region will be settled and we will withdraw the troops.

As regards Checheno-Ingushetia, the situation there is quite complex. And if truth be said, our people are experiencing great difficulties there. But the collective of the unit deployed there is solid and is successfully coping with its set tasks.

[PRAVDA] The tone of our conversation gives the impression that you have started the new year with certain hopes for changes for the better. Is this because you are an optimist?

[Savvin] Pessimists in our troops find their service twice as hard. Despite the sorrow caused by the irreparable losses we have suffered in the last few years, despite the mass of problems in the "perestroyka" period, I live in hope for a dignified future for the Internal Troops.

Official Interviewed on Industry Conversion

LD1901125192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Interview with Mikhail Bazhanov, head of the Russian state committee for defense industry conversion, by correspondent Boris Vaynshteyn, place and date not given; from the "15 Minutes According to New Time" program presented by NOVOYE VREMYA observer Gennadiy Ariyevich—recorded; first question is read by Ariyevich]

[Text] [Ariyevich] Today we invite you to join us as we ponder a subject that has been dealt with by our magazine on more than one occasion. The subject is the conversion of our defense industries. The situation in which we find ourselves is one where a specific feature of the Russian economy is its complete orientation toward defense, and where none of the arguments about the market have affected the defense industry in any way whatsoever. How, then, can one strip it of its epaulettes? How can it be demobbed? This is something that has to be done, because unless we do so the changeover to the market economy is impossible.

Two months ago, at the end of last year, the Russian Government created the State Committee for Conversion. True, up to now this committee has been working according to its own perceptions, because its powers are not yet clear. It is headed by Mikhail Bazhanov, and today we offer you an interview with him.

How, then, is the military-industrial complex entering into the market today?

[Bazhanov] One cannot talk about market relationships now in the defense complex. Nothing is coming of it yet. It is absolutely unprepared for this—and I say this quite precisely. They have to be taught the market. Furthermore, one cannot talk about real conversion: I call it convulsion rather than conversion. They are looking feverishly for what they should do, if only to earn something, if only to provide social support for their workers. Pans and beds, and whatever else you like, are therefore indeed being produced, along with hat stands and coat hangers—you name it! Children's beds that often cost more to produce than they're worth!

[Vaynshteyn] What is the solution in principle here—and is there a solution?

[Bazhanov] There is a solution, of course. In the first place certification has to be carried out of the enterprises. That is to say, we have to obtain a description of every enterprise from the point of view of the technology of its production, the type of output produced, its potential as far as its capacities, the qualifications of its staff and research projects awaiting application are concerned; we have to listen to the proposals of all the enterprises, what they would like to and what they would be able to produce, and what they need in order to do so.

In other words we have to create a conversion program for the enterprise, then for the region, or for a number of enterprises within the same field of activity, and then we have to create an overall program for the conversion of Russia. In order to carry out the conversion of the defense industries in a serious manner, we have to invest approximately 150 billion rubles in it over a period of five to six years—and incidentally I am calculating this according to the prices that were in force before now.

[Vaynshteyn] And if that doesn't happen?

[Bazhanov] Well, as a result you might get the complete collapse of the defense complex—and by the words defense complex I mean the totality of the enterprises of the defense industries. This does not necessarily mean the output of armaments and military equipment. It is, in fact, the complex of defense enterprises.

Orders for armaments have now fallen sharply; orders for scientific research and experimental design work have fallen sharply. We are losing some of Russia's most highly qualified workers, and some of the most highly trained scientists and engineers. This is giving rise to extreme concern, because if it is possible to cut serial production of armaments even further and very sharply—and very large quantities of them were produced—then the fact that they have decided to cut allocations for scientific research and experimental design work by thirty percent will lead to the complete destruction of this incredible scientific potential—and I am referring to the potential not of the defense industries but of the country, because usually the defense industries have transferred their technologies to the peaceful industries. A mass exodus abroad of scientists will begin.

This is even giving rise to concern in other states, both in Europe and in the United States, because these scientists, who possess the technologies for the production of weapons of mass destruction—I am not even talking about nuclear weapons, other kinds also exist—they might turn up in countries that are potential aggressors, and this is very dangerous for the whole world. The defense complex, strange as it may seem, has turned out to be the one with the least protection of all during the transition to the market, because in the past there was always the state budget, there were stable orders, and it was possible to live in a perfectly tolerable way—because it is virtually impossible to separate defense conversion from the production of armaments. It is one single block. It is either so much allocated for defense, and the remainder is for conversion, or it is the other way around.

[Vaynshteyn] Who dealt with arms exports in the former Soviet Union?

[Bazhanov] For the main part, arms sales took place as follows. Our state, supporting certain regimes throughout the world, sold them weapons on credit, and it provided this credit. Long-term and interest free. And so on and so forth. The result was that our state was buying weapons from itself. Now that we are entering seriously into the world market, we certainly need to trade in arms, because the stocks are great, and if we don't trade the Americans, the French, the Japanese, and whoever else you like will do so immediately, filling the gaps that we have left empty. This is one of the most profitable types of trade, the arms trade. The only thing is that there has to be extremely tough control over which weapons are being supplied to whom. The next point is that this must without fail take place only with the knowledge of the president of Russia.

[Vaynshteyn] Wasn't there extremely tough control in the past?

[Bazhanov] No. That was spread out across the structures of the USSR Ministry of External Economic Relations. There were three organizations there engaged in the arms trade, but the fact is that everything was decided not by the Ministry of External Economic Relations, but by party and political aspects, and so on. Often the weapons went not to the places where it was profitable, but to the places where they had to go.

[Vaynshteyn] That is to say, the defense complex swallowed billions, but almost nothing was returned in its place?

[Bazhanov] It wasn't the defense complex that swallowed the billions; they took these weapons from the defense complex—in theory they sold them, as I have already said, to themselves on credit—and there was virtually no return whatsoever. There was virtually none. Whereas even now it is possible to get between 7 and 8 billion dollars a year in cash from arms—8 million dollars—and I stress that in the defense industry the ruble and the dollar are of equal value. In fact it even comes out a little bit in favor of the ruble. Here is a simple example. A tank sold here costs from between 1.1 million and 1.2 million rubles. A tank sold abroad costs 1.8 million dollars. Those are the relative values of the ruble and the dollar for you.

[Vaynshteyn] What does the share of the defense complex industries amount to in Russia now?

[Bazhanov] It's difficult to say now in percentage terms. The fact is that such a tremendous collapse of industry has taken place, that there's nothing to make comparisons with. It's difficult to say what its weight is now. Perhaps it's somewhere around 50 percent, or thereabouts.

[Vaynshteyn] In what ways can conversion be of value to the national economy other than through arms sales? How can refined technologies be transformed into saucepans and bedpans?

[Bazhanov] I have already said that we are carrying out the certification of production facilities, and if they themselves do not have schemes that are sufficiently attractive for the market—both at home and overseas—then we offer those enterprises technologies that we have in the committee's data bank. That is the only way. In addition, I repeat, we are attracting foreign partners with their own proposals in response to ours, and in that way we are slowly beginning to get things moving. Here one has to be very clever in the way one approaches this. One has to determine the level of defense sufficiency. To meet this one has to create a state order for armaments and military equipment. To that one has to add what we consider it necessary to sell. That will determine the volume of production of armaments and military equipment. All the rest has to be converted.

[Vaynshteyn] Of what order, approximately, are the available schemes already ready for introduction—in their dozens? In their hundreds? In their thousands?

[Bazhanov] There are hundreds of thousands of them. Here on the computer I have a data bank that we started to compile in 1987 and 1988. Here there are approximately 30 megabytes of information. [video shows Bazhanov seated at his office desk speaking to correspondent; a computer terminal is visible among his office equipment] I would like to stress that this is a line-by-line list in which the words such and such a development is available are written against each development. Nothing more than that. If everything were described in detail, no computer would have enough brain power to cope with it.

[Vaynshteyn] But isn't it possible for the question to be asked why these developments are not finding application?

[Bazhanov] It was dreadfully disadvantageous for major academic institutes and structures to apply things that they had not developed themselves, and naturally, while regularly receiving a state budget or funding for scientific research and experimental design work in their own field, for years on end, they continued topics that were frequently pointless. If an inventor or a group of inventors made an appearance with new trends and new ideas they simply gobbled them up.

[Vaynshteyn] Where is the guarantee that this situation is not going to be reproduced yet again?

[Bazhanov] There are no guarantees of that kind. In the first place, I repeat, so far not a single kopek has been allocated for conversion. At any rate, I haven't seen any. I repeat that the defense complex, given the current state of the economy and current attitudes toward it, is on the brink of collapse. But we could lose the last thing in the Russian state that is still capable of supporting it in some way over the near future. In other words, if Russia doesn't want to perish, it must preserve its brains, and the main mass of brains is to be found in the defense complex.

[Vaynshteyn] Talk a little about what has been earned by this science in recent years.

[Bazhanov] One could give a lot of examples. I would like to give one very interesting example. A special generator has been developed which makes it possible to achieve a guaranteed increase in yield of any agricultural crops of at least 30 percent. You simply put the antenna in the elevator or the grain hopper on the threshing floor, the generator is switched on, and 15 minutes later the grain has been processed. The plants are much healthier. There is no root mold or rust, and the regrowth—those are the secondary ears—also produce grain. All of this grain is obtained in the form of hard strains. Furthermore, this treatment is so cheap that it is beyond comparison with anything else. [video shows Bazhanov handling device]

I have in my hands an inversion-free gas cooler and liquefier [bezinversionnyy okhladitel-ozhizhitel gazov]. If one feeds in compressed air at this end at a pressure of 30 atmospheres, and at a rate of approximately 30 cubic meters per minute, cooled air will be supplied immediately from the other end at a temperature of minus 87 to minus 90 degrees. By increasing the pressure we can obtain the liquid component. A pipe of that kind but somewhat larger in its dimensions can be placed directly on the head of a gas well, and liquid methane can be obtained instead of gas. [video shows Bazhanov handling a bundle of glass tubes]

In the past the production facilities where this was made used to produce some of the most powerful explosives and gunpowders. Now they produce carbamide covered in chicken manure and carrot seeds covered in peat. The quality is the highest, the purity absolute. That is what conversion is capable of.

[Ariyevich] Well there you are—it's all very impressive, isn't it? Although I personally do have a few doubts. Have all these wonders been tested sufficiently from the ecological viewpoint? Or won't mutants make their appearance after a couple of generations as a result of using grain treated in the new way? It would be quite possible for all of these exhibits to remain merely as exhibits in this office, for this office to become a branch of the All-Union Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy, and for a new occupant of this office to demonstrate the same models and exhibits to correspondents as being promising new developments. One thing only is needed to prevent that from happening: interest on the part of the producer, which is controlled by the market.

Aims of New 'Officers Union' Explained

PM2101145192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 4

[Response to reader's letter by Major V. Kubyshko, member of "Officers Union" organizational committee: "Officers Union Organized in Moscow. Why?"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] Last Sunday I attended a "hunger line" rally on Moscow's Manezh Square. Among others, there were calls for the creation of an "Officers Union." What kind of union is this? Tell me about it.

I. Svetlov, Moscow.

[Kubyshko] This union already exists and it certainly does not owe its appearance to the Manezh Square rally. The Union was set up for several reasons. The main one being the lack of a specific, vital social security program for servicemen. We have heard promises from all quarters previously. But time is moving along and there has been no specific action. However the position of servicemen and their families in the capital has steadily deteriorated. So we decided to act in accordance with the principle of "rescuing drowning men" by setting up the association, the "Officers Union." Our aims are to provide social, legal, and moral security for officers and their families in the current crisis situation.

We intend to submit to organs of authority our proposals on a broad range of problems pertaining to military reform and the attitude of career servicemen to various political decisions that affect their future. For instance, how can we keep silent if state organs decide that officers must take another military oath? That is not in the traditions of the Russian Army. We think that our opinion should be taken into consideration.

As for more specific projects that are already feasible, we have taken on the creation of a system of advance training and job placement for servicemen discharged into the reserve.

We want to offer those who continue to serve skilled legal aid in protecting the personal rights of servicemen and members of their families and as much material aid as we can for those who urgently need it.

I think that our activity to ensure public order in areas with a high concentration of servicemen's families and create various cultural, recreation, and sports centers will also be useful.

The "union" already includes representatives of four military academies and several units from the Moscow area.

We are open to everyone and very much hope for support.

Our telephone number is 343-18-18.

Volkogonov: 8 Million Employed by Military

LD2101010892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The other day Volkogonov, counselor to the Russian president, cited sensational figures: Out of a population of 150 million, 8 million are employed in the military sphere—together with their families the figure comes to 30 million, that is to say, one-fifth of the entire Russian population. It can already be said that today the Army has turned into an independent political force and one cannot fail to take its interests into account.

Yeltsin Remarks on Ethnic Germans Criticized

LD2001123992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network 2000 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Aleksandr Poklad report; from the "Itogi" program]

[Text] [Poklad] This gloomy building on Leninskiy Prospekt belonged to the GDR consulate. It is now occupied by the consular department of the FRG embassy, which every day issues around 1,200 visas for exit to the FRG.

Soviet Germans, or more accurately, Kazakh and Russian Germans, are leaving. People whose forefathers for centuries lived in Russia, and made a tangible contribution to the development of its economy and culture, do not want to live in this country, especially on a military test site. There were 2 million of them. Over two years, around 280,000 of them, mainly workers, farmers and engineers, have left. The losses from this exodus of highly qualified specialists already amount to thousands of millions of rubles. Are we really so rich that we can squander these people. I was led to this thought by Academician Rauchenbach. During our conversation, he also commented:

[Begin recording] [Raushenbach] All kinds of our—I would simply say foolish moves, which are being orchestrated by former partocrats in Saratov, is all organized. This is no popular movement. I have been there. I know. It is simply unpatriotic behavior. Their own skins are dearer to them than the interests of the country.

[Poklad] In this connection, evidently, the comments by Yeltsin run alongside this former partocracy?

[Raushenbach] Yes, I would say it was simply a case of...[pauses] he simply made a mistake. He said what was demanded of him by the former partocracy—perhaps unconsciously. But I think that...[changes thought] because it contradicts what he said in Bonn, what he said here in Moscow, and it contradicts Russian laws adopted recently in parliament about repressed peoples. [end recording]

[Poklad] I will comment that this problem has not only a domestic policy but an international aspect. In circles close to German diplomacy, I was told that Bonn is deliberately holding back official reaction to Yeltsin's comments, giving him an opportunity to reverse. But it is already clear that the level of trust established between the leadership of Russia and Germany has been substantially lowered. Politics must not be made in the heat of the moment.

Russian Germans Demand Autonomy 'Today'

LD2001214192 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergei Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Russian Germans need their own republic today, not in distant future, the Union of Soviet Germans said in a statement received by TASS on Monday [20 January]. The union was expressing its official reaction to the Russian president's statements made during his recent trip to the Volga area. "There would be no autonomy for Germans in those areas where they do not constitute the overwhelming majority of the population", Boris Yeltsin said.

But the union believes the 90 per cent quota, set by the president (for the overwhelming majority), is too high and cannot be reached, as 70 per cent of Germans have mixed marriages. The quota is "unjust and unacceptable", as none of national state entities both inside the Commonwealth and in Russia correspond to it, the statement says.

"The vital interests of Russia and the Russian Germans coincide", and we want the Russian parliament and government to officially confirm the fact, the union said, demanding the president to apologise to the Soviet Germans.

The president's pronouncements are "a blow at the hopes of Russian Germans and at the agreements, reached by Yeltsin in Germany. They will also trigger off a greater German emigration", Gugo Wormsbacher, deputy chairman of the union, told TASS. Russia should take practical steps to convince its Germans it is ready to guarantee them a national future, he added.

The president's statement puts an end to the hopes of two million Germans to revive their autonomy, Gerhard Wolter, a leader of the German "Revival" Society, told TASS. Moreover, attempts are being made to pass through the Russian parliament a resolution, which will postpone the "territorial rehabilitation" of Germans for 5 years—till 1995, he added.

But despite vigorous German protests, Yeltsin's position on the problem did not change. "The president is devoted to the earlier set course and agreements reached with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl", according to the latest statement of a presidential spokesman.

Germans, in the meantime, continue to flee from the country. The German Embassy in Russia told TASS nearly 133 thousand entry visas were issued to Russian Germans last year.

Economic Affairs

Government Meets on Privatization, Trade, Bread

LD2301095192 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 23 (TASS)—An enlarged meeting of the Russian Government began in the Kremlin today. It is attended by heads of local administrations, representatives from the republics, territories and regions of the Russian Federation.

Moscow Televison reports that the meeting will discuss three questions: the acceleration of privatization, the reorganisation of trade, and the bread situation.

The meeting was opened by President Boris Yeltsin. In his statement he reviewed the situation in the Federation after the hoisting of prices.

Yeltsin Aide Interviewed on Economic Reforms

PM2001161292 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 12 Jan 92 pp 76-79

[Interview with Yeltsin aide Galina Starovoytova by Chiara Valentini; place and date not given]

[Text] She is the only woman who succeeded in gaining a place in the limited nomenklatura of the former USSR and she is the star of the new government emerging in Russia. Galina Starovoytova, 45 years old with a 21-year old son living in London who has married an English woman and a husband who has resigned himself to the role of prince consort, owes her extraordinary rise not only to determination and intelligence, but also to the expertise she gained from university.

Galina Starovoytova is in fact an ethnographer, an expert on the intricate national questions which have broken up the Soviet Union. As leader of the radical movement, Boris Yeltsin placed her on his small staff of advisers a few years ago where she is an independent and anomalous figure. Galina is among the few people who does not come from the CPSU apparatus ("I have always been half dissident, an awkward customer").

This robust woman is never still, she can galvanize huge crowds with her speeches, and she is also a great protector of Armenian rights, as were Andrey Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, who were great friends of hers. Unlike many people at the present time, Galina is not too pessimistic about her country's future.

[Valentini] The USSR has disintegrated and the world fears what might happen. Is this fear justified?

[Starovoytova] Some degree of fear about the consequences of this collapse is legitimate. Moreover, no empire in the world has ever broken up without pain and torment. I just hope that our post-imperial period will be less tragic than the English or French post-imperial periods.

[Valentini] Do you believe that in the future it will be possible to rebuild some kind of community among the various republics, or do you think the disintegration is irreversible, despite all the meetings and formal agreements?

[Starovoytova] I am convinced that we will succeed in reestablishing ties, in creating something similar to the European Parliament. But it will take time, because the republics will first want to savor their freedom. Without wishing to boast, I would like to tell you that back in 1989 I predicted what has since happened. My radical friends, even those who hold more extreme positions, were shocked and made it clear to me that it was better not to talk about such things. Only one person agreed with me—Eduard Shevardnadze.

[Valentini] And yet, last March, in the referendum promised by Gorbachev, the majority voted to maintain the USSR.

[Starovoytova] That is true, but the tide was turning. In 1989 we saw the first departure from the totalitarian regime with relatively free elections. Almost as a result of that, the national idea began to be asserted by many people with great energy and with a desire for liberation from the old structures which inspired the various populations.

[Valentini] It cannot be said that nationalism proved to be a very democratic phenomenon. In the Georgia of former dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia, for instance, the most basic civil rights were abolished. Even in the progressive Baltic countries, many things did not go as they ought to have done....

[Starovoytova] The point is that all these peoples did not trust the state which Gorbachev was building, because they realized that he wanted to maintain the old status quo although with a bit of retouching. That certainly encouraged stability. But, as we saw in the pogrom against the Armenians or in the massacres in Tbilisi or Vilnius, it was a stability based on guns. The people chose to be independent even if the price to be paid was high.

[Valentini] Many people are also afraid for the future of the new Russian state. Do you see a real risk of a coup in 1992?

[Starovoytova] Frankly, I do not believe in it. Moscow and St. Petersburg, the big cities where history is decided, are on the brink of starvation, but nobody is taking to the streets, which in a way amazes me. Why? The fact is that the majority of people have realized that we have taken the right course. Many now know what democracy is and are determined to defend it, as they did during the August coup.

[Valentini] But many things have changed since then. For instance, Boris Yeltsin is now showing authoritarian tendencies.

[Starovoytova] No, Yeltsin is not authoritarian, but it is true that some members of the new Russian Government would like a strong regime, would like to gag the press. So far, those ideas have not prevailed, partly because some of us are determined to resist them.

[Valentini] Do you not think you will eventually be in a minority?

[Starovoytova] Yeltsin is a man used to listening to both sides of the question. In the fall, for instance, he decided to declare a state of emergency in Chechnya. At the time I was in Sweden. As soon as I heard the news, I sent him a secret cable, begging him not to make that mistake. Boris Nikolayevich reconsidered the matter and withdrew the decree.

[Valentini] In short, you do not find it difficult to work with Yeltsin?

[Starovoytova] No, he is a man who knows how to discuss things, he can grasp problems quickly, even when he knows nothing about them. He is also behaves gallantly toward me, perhaps because I am the only woman in the whole leadership. He is a man of great courage.

[Valentini] To what are you referring in particular?

[Starovoytova] To the economic crisis which Yeltsin has decided to tackle head-on, unlike Gorbachev, shouldering the burden as head of government and hence accepting all the unpopularity which might result from the implementation of the reforms.

[Valentini] Will the economic reforms work?

[Starovoytova] If we manage to get through the winter and spring, the worst will be over.

Disbandment of Collective, State Farms Denied

LD2201095492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar has refuted rumors to the effect that the Government plans in the next month or two to break up the collective and state farms. At a meeting with people's deputies he explained that it is just the process of transforming unprofitable farms which is to begin in two months' time: such farms make up 10% of the total number of collective and state farms.

As for the agrarian reform itself, this is a very lengthy process calculated to take place over years. It will not be possible to bring about any radical breakthrough in agriculture before the spring sowing, the deputy prime minister said; it is useless to hope that the number of private farms will increase substantially.

Agriculture Minister Interviewed on Reform

LD2001171192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1143 GMT on 16 January carries an interview with Russian Minister of Agriculture Viktor Khlystun by reporter Andrey Nikolayev. The interview took place in December 1991. Contributing to the interview are Vakhtang Makharadze, general director of the joint enterprise Interferma, and Yevgeniy Grinev, president of the Agroindustrial Union of Russia.

Khlystun replies to a question on his attitude to the Stolypin land reform by saying: "He was a strong personality. Nevertheless, I do not entirely share his policy. I do not share his forcible approach to carrying through the reform that took place. Had force not been used with regard to the peasants, I think that the results of the reform could have been more significant."

Khlystun adds: "I want to warn against the very simplified understanding of the land reform—that it simply is a matter of taking and distributing land. Unfortunately, very often this is what one hears: Resolving the land question is simply distributing land to everyone. I assure you that this way we will not have an effect. What is at issue is resolving the land problem by having reformed ownership relations through various means. The main result of 1991 is that people have come to realize the need for reform, the need to change the way of life, the way of economic thinking. This is beginning. Now we must ensure normal conditions for the development of this process. How do we do this? A package of documents on agrarian reform has been prepared. The first of them were examined this week by the government. One of them, the decision On the Procedure for the Reorganization of Collective and State Farms" has already been adopted.

What is envisaged? First, our intention is that in the course of the next three months each collective must decide on its future. This three month deadline is firm."

Asked about the final date, Khlystun says it is before 1 April. He says: "We do not intend to dictate to them. We are proposing various possible paths of reform. This is a transformation into an association of peasants' farms where each can become an independent legal entity." He says: "The second possible option is the issuing of shares for collective and state farms and the change to joint-stock ownership. The third option is the change to collective enterprises with a share form of ownership. I assume that this third option will develop most widely, even though this option is less promising. It is a still step toward reform. I am convinced that the introduction of the collective share form of ownership will give a certain stimulus in developing the thinking of people in the countryside."

He notes: "Each of these paths leads to progress. When they select a path we must help them change to new forms of management in a very short time. In a very short time the efforts need to be mobilized for the planning institutes, the organs of government. I mean by this that the Committee for Land Reform and the local organs for the management of agriculture should ensure the appropriate support. There should not be any pressure. Once a decision has been made, it should not be dragged out. Changes should take place in 1992. As regards loss-making farms, I was asked whether we intend to take a harder line. In December the lists of insolvent farms will be announced. The reorganization will take three months."

He continues: "The proportion of the land and of the means of production which has not been claimed will be handed over for other people in this locality. If, in the course of one more month, this is not claimed, we will then sell this land and these means of production through the soviets of people's deputies, through a competitive sale, even through auctions, but only under certain restrictions: that this land and means of production may not be taken out of agriculture. Our mistake lies in the fact that in the course of this year we frequently artificially made enemies of reform. It is the task of a wise politician not to create opponents but to create supporters. In our country in the course of the year that has always been the case: the chairmen of collective farms and the directors of state farms—scoundrels of that sort—are the main obstacle. They are impeding progress. We started stigmatizing and labelling them even prior to the reform and turned them into opponents of the reform as a result, instead of drawing them into the processes of reform. They are mainly energetic people, fairly competent people, but they have a somewhat different way of thinking. It is necessary to change this thinking and draw them into the reform. Now we are setting ourselves this task."

The minister notes: "I am not a supporter of believing that only one type of farm, smallholding, will be able to get the country out of the food crisis we are in. There must be various forms in combination without their being in any way set against each other. Associations of peasants may be set up in which both the smallholder and the collective enterprise and the joint-share company work jointly and create the necessary structures for functioning."

Gaydar Views Results of Price Liberalization

OW1701234692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first results of the two weeks after prices had been freed in Russia were summed up at a recent conference with Russia's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar. Reports indicate that the situation varies greatly from region to region. For example, the price of 1 kilo of beef ranged from 20 to 200 rubles. According to the Russian Statistics Committee, on January 13 meat was readily available in only 4 of 19 major adminsitrative centers in Russia. Milk was available in 4 centers, and in another 16 one had to stand in a long line to buy it. Eggs were readily available for 7 to 25 rubles in 36 of 49 Russian administrative centers, and in 10 big cities one had to pay coupons, regional quasi-money, to buy eggs.

The population has yet to sense what the price rise is all about, said chairman of the price committee Vladimir Zverkhovsky. And producers go all out to inflate their costs and, therefore, prices. The producer's diktat is in evidence.

It was said that the increase of prices of agricultural machinery, trucks and other goods the countryside requires 25 to 30 times last year alone does little to depress the prices of produce.

Demand, a major restrainer of price growth, has yet to come into its own. Basically, the demand-supply situation is currently influencing only perishable products, for example sour milk. Its price dropped from early January.

Demand as a restrainer of prices has not yet been in evidence in trade in manufactured goods as this category of goods has not reached the shop shelves during the two weeks after price liberalization.

Discussion also covered trade at administered prices, first of all bread. Though low-prices kinds of bread, on which there is a ceiling on price increase, are in short supply, expensive kinds of bread are coming to the shops. Bread is stolen or sold at free prices.

"The bread problem is for us the biggest political problem," said Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar.

He noted that those who had predicted that prices would stabilize at the level of the free market (but not in Moscow) are absolutely right. There has not been a big leap in market prices which is a positive signal.

He called for faster work to commercialize trade. Today [word indistinct] out of the 75,000 of state shops [words indistinct] for privatization. Another task is to open the way for street trade to breach the blockade of monopolies.

Food Aid Distribution Problems Viewed

PM2001114292 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Olga Plakhotnikova report incorporating interview with Aleksandr Zhitnikov, deputy chairman of the Russian Government Commission on Questions of International Humanitarian and Technical Aid; place and date of interview not given: "Humanitarian Aid: Will We Save the Rich From Starving to Death?"]

[Text] Not long ago, the stream of imported parcels began to grow noticeably thinner. The "donors" (that is what they call people who send aid) very much disliked seeing their gifts mysteriously swallowed up in the motherland's bottomless storehouses. Where there are apparently some cunning little men who arrange for the goods to surface in commercial stores. In November-December last year the number of parcels started to go up again. But for how long will this faith in our ability to share out the gifts like decent people persist?

The delivery and distribution of goods is now in the hands of the Russian Government Commission on Questions of International Humanitarian and Technical Aid. It is high time it demonstrated its capabilities in the sphere of sharing out: Another consignment of deliveries is arriving in the country from the EC—part of the food, for which the Community countries have allocated 200 million ECUs [European currency units]. Some 68,500 tonnes of meat, butter, and milk will arrive in Russia; 44,000 tonnes are destined for Moscow, and the rest for St. Petersburg.

Do the means exist for safely delivering food across a hungry country? Bundeswehr General Steinseifer recently came to Moscow for talks on this matter. The general had other grounds for concern too. Not long before his arrival the Moscow trade sector had contrived rapidly to sell off 39,600 tonnes of butter which the Russian side had promised not to put on sale without EC representatives.

Humanitarian aid has been arriving for a year now. You would think by now there would be signs of some experience in how to handle it. So why is there a hint of scandal in the air as each new consignment arrives? I asked Aleksandr Zhitnikov, the commission's deputy chairman, about this.

"Our country is not the first to receive aid," Aleksandr Aleksandrovich said. "And everyone who has encountered this knows that direct distribution is a difficult path. The realistic solution is to bring in the professionals, from Foreign Ministry staffers to the militia. And incidentally that is why the commission was formed."

[Zhitnikov continues] The pattern of work is like this. Every day we receive a customs report on all the humanitarian freight crossing the border. This information is conveyed to the intended destinations. In the regions, the head of administration is responsible for the storage and distribution of aid. Law enforcement personnel, deputies, and social, religious, and charitable organizations are brought in.

We seem to think that anyone who feels so inclined can get involved with import deliveries, and then we wonder why things get out of hand. Yet this is a very sensitive matter, it needs a serious official basis and professionalism.

[Plakhotnikova] What is the quantity of aid? What proportion, in your opinion, is not reaching those in need?

[Zhitnikov] Speculation that the quantity of foreign parcels is now comparable with what we ourselves produce is pure fantasy. In the whole of last year, according to our estimates, we received 240,000 tonnes of freight. In the last 10 days 348 tonnes have arrived. What is that, for Russia? A drop in the ocean.

It would be good to increase humanitarian deliveries to such an extent that the country could "live" on them for some 10-15 days a year. That is 3-5 percent of total consumption—and that means large-scale deliveries. This is necessary in order to help the least protected strata of the population—pensioners, the disabled, children from large families, pregnant women and nursing mothers—we have more than 65 million people in these categories.

I do not share the view that the main bulk of humanitarian aid is being stolen. I think the percentage of thefts is even smaller here than in ordinary trade. It is no accident that the stores, although they are willing to take West European meat, are very unwilling to be monitored by Western representatives or our own.

[Plakhotnikova] Nonetheless the commercial stores in Moscow are packed with lovely foreign cans of food. Where do they come from?

[Zhitnikov] What makes you so sure that this is humanitarian aid? It comes through various channels—through state and charitable channels, through commercial organizations. I do not want to cast aspersions on honest people, but every family, as the saying goes, has its black sheep. Maybe some people are playing "pseudohumanitarian" games, making use of fine slogans as cover for dubious deals. For instance, a barter deal is concluded between our own and foreign "businessmen," and a consignment of sneakers arrives in the country in the guise of aid. The advantage is that it enables you to avoid excise duties and taxes. The goods go on sale, and a hundred pairs are sent to a children's home by way of "justification."

And have we not seen plenty of cases where a scandal was whipped up out of nowhere? On 22 December a plane arrived from the United States carrying food for children's homes and old people's homes. I went to meet it, together with E. Pamfilova, minister of social protection of the population, and representatives of the U.S. Embassy and the International Red Cross. Among the boxes some empty ones were found. Neither we nor the Americans had any doubt that they had arrived from the United States empty. But... a report promptly appeared in the press: Despite all the efforts, someone had stolen something. Why mislead both the population and the donors? In the end such "canards" damage the interests of the poorly off: The less people trust us, the less aid they send.

[Plakhotnikova] Since you have mentioned the interests of the poorly off, how will the commission's plans to sell humanitarian food aid help them?

[Zhitnikov] Whether we like it or not, we will have to sell some of the imported goods. Because transportation costs and funds required for storing the food are quite substantial. They cannot all come out of the budget.

Imported meat will be released at auctions. We will announce an open sale beforehand, and the products will be sold at market prices. On condition that it is sold off in two or three days, not "held back."

There is another way too: to sell food via the retail trade network. Naturally, all the warehouses and stores involved will have to be monitored strictly. And the money made will go into a fund for social support for the population. Incidentally, the donors themselves have advised such methods.

[Plakhotnikova] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, you are an economist, and you understand very well that by the time the goods are sold and the money paid into the fund and distributed to those in need, so much time will have passed that the ruble will have fallen to half its present level. Is that any way to do "business"?

[Zhitnikov] It will not take long. And extensive sales of goods will inevitably affect the market. It will enable us if not to hold back, then at least to some extent to slow down price rises. [interview ends]

The high-velocity replacement of one humanitarian aid commission with another (the present one has been in existence for only a month) has led to the frankly "soviet" result that the job goes wrong but no one is accountable. At the same time there are plenty of complaints. I am even willing to believe that far less food is being stolen than we think. But that in itself does not make the distribution any better. The child of one of the Council of Ministers leaders (I will not give the name, because this individual's honesty is not in doubt) brings home three "aid" cans. Is his family starving? And whose idea was it to hand out to old ladies exotic fruit juices that they are not used to? Naturally, they went straight to the commercial stores so that they could buy milk with the money they made.

There is no point in the many leaders responsible for the honest share-out of goods simply pointing the finger at old ladies who have turned into businesswomen and saying: Ask them why they are trading in humanitarian aid at every step. When food reaches those who are really hungry, you need not worry—they will eat it.

The recently formed commission is not to blame for these pinpricks: Their predecessors did their bit, and the local authorities had a hand in it too. But in our country it seems to happen inevitably that the new people trip over the rakes left lying around by their predecessors: Otherwise the idea of boldly selling off the humanitarian supplies would hardly have arisen.

Last year, when imported food products were "spread around" among a huge number of pensioners and schoolchildren, those who were really needy were basically robbed. They were deprived of the opportunity to lay in some kind of stock of food so that they could hold on and not starve to death in the most difficult times. Now the foreign freight is once again being "spread around" among all comers, and for big money. Meanwhile sick pensioners and lone mothers with children in their arms are running around the rayon economic administrations and social security offices with certificates of financial hardship. So that with the money they receive they can then buy food at prices that have trebled.

Amid this price chaos what people need is not money, but food. Naturally, handing out parcels through order desks or even taking them around people's homes (for those who are unable to get there by themselves) is incomparably more difficult than releasing them for sale. And as long as there are no special structures for this, it could well be tackled by charitable societies and commercial organizations, which will doubtless be willing to take part in a major charity operation.

And if there is no way to avoid selling some of what we receive as gifts (after all, the chartering of planes has to be paid for too), is it not better to do this systematically? For instance, to give families with children the opportunity to buy dried milk (that is an example where people have the money, but the product is unavailable). Let pensioners, who have experienced real hunger and retained their horror of it all their lives, buy themselves 5 kg of meat each "for a rainy day" on the basis of lists, without complications.

The only things that could be sent unhesitatingly to auctions are expensive clothing and luxury foods. Of course nobody is going to die for want of those.

State Reserves Committee Functions Examined

PM2101110192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 2

[S. Blagodarov article, incorporating interview with G. Kaliberda, deputy chairman of the Russian State Reserves Committee, under the "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Enquiry" rubric; place and date not given: "No Vodka in the State Reserve"]

[Text] Information about the country's strategic reserves was top secret for 60 years. People said different things about the State Reserve, but those who spoke were uninformed, while those who were informed did not speak.

There is no nameplate today on the imposing building sited a stone's throw from the Kremlin, nor will you find its telephone numbers listed in any directory. But even if were to find out the "State Reserve" telephone nembers—through Yeltsin's office, for example—the telephones would not answer for some reason. Only the Kremlin "hot line" of V. Ladygin, chairman of the State Committee for State Reserves, answered us.

This system, which has existed since 1931, was watched over by Stalin personally. It is well known that, without the signature of the "father of the peoples," any document was an "orphan," particularly if the State Reserve was concerned.

The leaders of the State Reserve were at different times Kuybyshev, Kaganovich... During the Brezhnev era the question of the utilization of strategic reserves was decided by the Politburo alone. The direct order to open the State Reserve was issued by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. At any rate this was always decided solely by the top state officials—Stalin, Malenkov, Tikhonov, Ryzhkov, Ustinov, Yazov, and Gorbachev.

After the collapse of the USSR, the State Reserve was divided up. Russia retained around 70 percent, and Burbulis now runs the strategic reserves.

The current state of the strategic reserves is as follows: In the three years since 198,9 the State Reserve's food stocks have been reduced by a factor of ten! We have been consuming while putting nothing back in its place. It is noteworthy that even during the war the State Reserve doubled in size rather than diminishing. It played a crucial role in the abolition of postwar ration cards.

However, in recent years we have acted according to the following principle: Had I known how things would work out I would have taken others with me. For example, Ukraine did not supply a single gram of sugar to the State Reserve last year, although it should have provided 50 percent of the total.

The collapse and disintegration of the country are preventing the creation of a stable strategic provision system today. The "war of laws" and the "parade of sovereignties" have resulted in an eight- to tenfold reduction in all kinds of food in the State Reserve. The collapse of economic ties has hit precisely this strictly centralized system most painfully of all. The previous mandatory and priority supply system does not exist. Oil extraction has fallen by 40 million tonnes—and the strategic reserve of aviation fuel, gasoline, and fuel oil has also drastically declined. The frequency of accidents and explosions has increased, and the State Reserve, which is designed to plug all the gaps, has catastrophically contracted. One fire in Bashkiria, which destroyed a pipeline, made it necessary for a whole series of enterprises to draw upon strategic reserves for six months.

"Our strategic reserves of basic kinds of goods amount to only 1-2 percent of the total volume of resources," said G. Kaliberda, deputy chairman of the Russian State Reserves Committee. "Even at the best of times this would only last the whole country eight-ten days, whereas with today's residue we will only be able to hold out for 24 hours."

"And you have not topped up the State Reserve with humanitarian aid?"

"We have never topped up the strategic reserves with it. But, given the 100-percent security of storage at our depots, we have agreed to allow the temporary storage of humanitarian aid free of charge.

"Yes, our strategic reserves are not in a happy state today. What, then, is to be done? The old levers of administrative edict do not work. There is no Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. There are commodity exchanges, which will buy up any amount of meat and metal at any price. The State Reserve cannot match them.

"There is the tried-and-tested method of taxes. There should be tax concessions for that part of the output which enterprises supply to the State Reserve. Of course, for this it has to acquire the function of a stabilizer of market relations, which was not previously characteristic of it. The State Reserve must influence through its stocks the pricing policy of the market and commodity demonopolization. It is precisely through their strategic reserves that the governments of the United States, Japan, and the EEC countries—with the consent of congresses and parliaments—influence their domestic and foreign market.

"Our State Reserve is also beginning—little by little—to exercise these functions. For example, meat is bought into the strategic reserves at 13-15 rubles [R], but is now sold by the State Reserve at triple the price—at R39-45 (however, this is not R100-150 per kg). Hundreds of thousands of tonnes of sugar are now sold from the State Reserve at R8-9, condensed milk at R4.50, and stewed meat at R25 (in commercial stores it is R100-120 a can)."

"But can you stabilize the gasoline market?"

"Russia has a total of 38 million tonnes of gasoline, but the State Reserve holds only an insignificant amount of the total resources. We do exert a certain stabilizing influence on the market, but not a substantial one," Kaliberda answered.

"And what about aviation fuel?"

"There are around 15 million tonnes in the country, our stocks are not substantial here either."

"And does the State Reserve hold vodka?"

"No. It does hold alcohol for the aviation, medical, and microbiological industries. But, if need be, we do issue strategic alcohol for the production of vodka—the lack of liquor has become a dangerous, political issue."

"But there are luxury items for the elite, are there not? Be honest here."

"No. The State Reserve exists for other purposes."

In addition to their new market-stabilizing role, the strategic reserves also perform their previous functions: Removing imbalances in sectors which are seasonal in nature (coal, cotton, and sugar are stockpiled in the summer and fall to ensure steady operation through the winter); they reliably supply the Army and special consumers (nuclear power industry settlements and so on); and they help deal with various emergencies and accidents, natural disasters (Chernobyl, Armenia...).

The State Reserve comes to our aid in various situations. Admittedly, public opinion associates it solely with food. That is how it was before. With the development of our own military-industrial complex and scientific and technical progress and the emergence of new sectors, the list of strategic stocks has also expanded. Today, the list includes thousands of items ranging from replacement railroad bridges in the event of typhoons in the Far East to Central Asian yurts, which did sterling service in Armenia.

There are even strategic stocks of soda ash, without which we would have no windowpanes, soap, or ordinary bottles. But what if holdups occur in its supply? Or hitches in the supply of the natural rubber required for the tires of aircraft and large trucks? We do not grow hevea, but do have constant holdups with the hard currency to pay for it. Consequently, strategic stocks of both domestic and imported raw materials are needed.

The State Reserve's ideology is to give complete protection to our industry. The strategy is to have a broad raw materials base, rather than just the finished product (the American principle). Say, a plant which has a monopoly of boric acid blows up—whole sectors of the national economy should not have to stop operating because of this. Or the production of color television sets and household equipment is interrupted—and the stock of strategic rare-earth materials and polystyrenes is required.

The State Reserve is a state within a state—with its own spur tracks, huge modern depots, kindergartens, hospitals, residential area, triple security system, and perimeter zone. The highest technical standards for the storage and processing of goods in the country exist there, and losses are virtually ruled out. There is no cadre turnover. Here people drink from artesian wells and are supplied with heat by their own electrical power stations. The slightest wastage or the theft of a can of salmon from State Reserve depots is regarded as an incident of universal import and is investigated by the Collegium.

The State Reserve also has the sole scientific research institute in Europe investigating problems of long-term storage. It has determined that meat may be stored in the State Reserve for up to two years, stewed meat five years, canned fish between one and three years, butter 12-18 months, and vegetable oil between one and three years, while condensed milk is replaced every year.

...Just as I was bidding farewell, Kaliberda was brought a new list of 25 cities which are to be issued with sugar, meat, and butter from the State Reserve. I stole a glance at it: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, Perm, Murmansk, Chita, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Arkhangelsk, Nizhniy Novgorod... Maybe, friends, your city figures on the list too?

Control Over Issue of Oil Licenses 'Lost'

LD1901015592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] The Government of Russia has lost its control over issuing licenses on energy resourses, Vladimir Lopukhin, the Russian minister of fuel and power engineering, stated at a news conference, RIA reports. He said that a little over 36 million tonnes of oil was extracted in the republic in a month, licenses were issued for 33.5 million tonnes. A total of 5.5 million tonnes of diesel fuel was produced, and licenses were issued for 14.1 million tonnes.

The minister also reported that in the past three years not a single oil field was brought on stream. By now 22,500 wells have been stopped for overhaul. The minister stated that the Russian Government intends to have 8,000 wells overhauled by foreign companies. According to calculations by Lopukhin's ministry, repairs of the well's equipment will be paid back within 48 days of extraction being resumed.

Oil Market Slumps Under Political Scene

OW2201232692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1924 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By "INIOR experts" Oksana Polukhina and Yelena Paniushkina; from the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The last two months of 1991 demonstrated quite clearly the strong influence of political factors on Russia's developing oil market. The collapse of the all-Union government and the disruption of Union economic ties had an immediate impact on the oil market.

DECEMBER SAW A SLOWDOWN IN THE CRUDE OIL MARKET. In December, activity on the Russian oil market continued to decline precipitously. On the exchanges of the Tyumenskii market, demand practically disappeared and the volume of trading fell even on the Moscow oil exchange—normally the most stable.

The reasons behind this situation are clear enough: the greater part of Russia's oil consumers were state enterprises which were unable to afford oil at market prices.

At the same time, commercial enterprises in the former Soviet Union, which, being eager to get rid of their devaluing rubles, were willing to pay up to 4-5 thousand rubles for a ton of oil in order to re-sell it at world prices of $120-130, could no longer do so after President Yeltsin's decree of November 15, 1991 ordering government agencies to review all previously issued licenses for the export of oil and oil products and to halt the issue of new licenses until January 1, 1992.

Moreover, many oil producers had already reached their 1991 limits on the free sale of crude oil and were unwilling to commit to future deals since the allocation of quotas for the coning year were not yet clear by the end of last year.

OIL PRICES REMAIN HIGH. Just over 600,000 tons of oil were sold on exchanges in December. Asking and selling prices remained at high levels:

Exchange	Asking price (rubles/ton)	Selling price (rubles/ton)
Moscow Commodity Exchange	1,800-2,500	1,800
Moscow Oil Exchange	1,900-2,800	1,820-2,150
Surgutskii Raw Commodity Exchange	1,000-2,300	
Nizhnevartovskii Oil Exchange	2,500-8,500	3,000
Tyumenskii Stock Exchange	1,500-2,000	
Noiabrskaia Stock Exchange	2,500	2,500
Germes Oil Exchange	1,500-3,000	1,450-2,000

DECEMBER SLUMP IN MARKET FOR OIL PRODUCTS. A decline in trading also characterized December's market for oil products, although this market was not as weak as for crude oil. Thus, the volume of trading in gasoline declined 500-600, while the average prices rose slightly—the price of A-76 gasoline rose by 10.3%, A-92 by 30.7%, and A-93 by 68.1%.

'Secret' Plant To Export Armored Vehicles

PM2201145392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 92 p 2

[V. Filin report under the rubric "Questions of the Week": "To Whom Have We Sold 300 Armored Personnel Carriers?"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has permitted the GAZ association to sell abroad 300 armored personnel carriers produced by one of GAZ's secret plants. This has happened for the first time in the plant's entire history, although the plant began to make requests about this as far back as last year. Until then the sale of combat equipment was carried out via the Main Engineering Administration of the former USSR's former Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The plant received only rubles from the sales, and all the rest went into the bottomless state budget. With the start of conversion and the sharp fall in the demand for combat equipment within the country, there was nothing with which to pay the wages of staffers in defense plants. So GAZ decided to sell armored personnel carriers. To whom? According to a number of the association's officials, there are as yet no finished contracts. But they assure us that the armored personnel carriers will not turn up in Afghanistan, Iraq, or China.

In our opinion, apart from the states mentioned, many African countries, not to mention the perpetually warring Near East, would receive Soviet combat vehicles with pleasure.

It is most likely that model "70's" and diesel "80's" will be sold. The latter are one level higher. And they are clearly more expensive.

Swedish Economic Adviser on Yeltsin, Reforms

PM2201160092 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Jan 92 p 24

[Report on undated Stockholm interview with Professor Anders Aslund, adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by Nils Christian Helle]

[Text] Stockholm—Can things end in anything other than disaster? In the West there is confusion and pessimism about the situation in the former Soviet empire. The world famous Swedish Soviet expert, Professor Ander Aslund, goes against the trend as usual. "We are faced with an historic opportunity," he said. Hopes are pinned on Boris Yeltsin—and massive Western aid.

Shortly before Christmas, Aslund accepted an offer to become economic adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. In mid-December he met Yeltsin during a visit to Moscow. When this interview is published he will again be in the Russian capital, where he will assist the new rulers with a historically unique project: How to replace 74 years of Communist dictatorship and command economy with democracy and a market economy in the space of a few weeks?

What does the job of adviser consist of?

"Well, really," Anders Aslund said, "we work for Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister and also finance and economics minister, and for another deputy prime minister, Aleksandr Shokhin." In this context "we" is Aslund and Professor Jeffrey Sachs of the prestigious Harvard University in the United States. Sachs, who became a professor at the age of only 29, was an adviser during the transformation of the system in Poland.

What sort of impression does Aslund have of Boris Yeltsin, who is portrayed first one way and then the other in the Western media?

"There is a great deal of confusion," Aslund said. But his own view is crystal clear: "Yeltsin is a man who is perfect in times of crisis. He is a man who is completely calm, and who takes the lead in times of total crisis."

In this much, Anders Aslund said, Yeltsin is reminiscent of Winston Churchill and Ronald Reagan. Like Churchill, who was "excellent during the war, but not particularly successful" once it was over, Yeltsin likes to lead from the front; to be the one in the vanguard. Gorbachev tried the whole time to reach compromises. Yeltsin takes on himself all the responsibility, and says, "If the government fails, I will go with it."

At the same time Yeltsin has former President Reagan's ability to communicate with people, to be the "Great Communicator." He has "this remarkable sensitivity" and ability to understand ordinary people, who in turn feel he is with them. In the West people rely too much on an "embittered Soviet Russian media" which does not understand Yeltsin, and calls him a populist because they themselves are not democrats.

"Yeltsin does the opposite of what a populist would by definition have done. He has staked out a hard and difficult course. He explains to people that wages will fall by 30 percent in real terms, and that there will be a price to pay for the changes, but that it is to be hoped that any decline will only be temporary and short-lived."

The Russian leader also has the unique strength that he has been elected by the people, "three times over and by an overwhelming majority," most recently when he became president of the Russian republic last summer, Aslund pointed out. He has the national assembly with him, and in talks with Aslund and other Western advisers "he sounds like a liberal democrat." He has even distanced himself from social democracy. "Gorbachev was never elected to any post, but nevertheless Gorbachev is quoted in the Western press when he says that he doubts whether Yeltsin is a democrat."

Aslund praises Yeltsin for being a man of action. "With him it is a very short distance from thought to action," the professor said. But nevertheless: Yeltsin is now heading a program which is subjecting the Russian people to major hardships, so surely there must be a limit to how far he too can go?

"Yes," Aslund admitted, "this is a very dangerous period. But it is almost impossible to answer the question of the limit to how far he can go. What Yeltsin himself says is that people can perhaps hold out for six months to a year, and that he hopes that the fall in wages in real terms will happen in the first six months so that some sort of stability can be achieved."

After that what is crucial is how many goods find their way into the stores. But what worries Aslund and his colleagues most is that Russia has no monetary policy. Things are being tightened up, but this is moving too slowly, and loans are still being granted too readily.

The next dangerous phase will occur when people become bitter because their lives have not improved. There is a danger of strikes in the early summer. Another danger which is ever present is the growth of new nationalist movements of the type for which Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has recently made himself spokesman. In the longer term it is crucially important that privatization should succeed. Privatization is the foundation for democracy. Before privatization has succeeded, it is impossible to feel secure about anything, Aslund said.

The major specter, if everything goes wrong, is a "Weimar Russia"—that Russia become a copy of Germany between the wars. The situation is potentially explosive, but full of positive opportunities at the same time.

Therefore, Aslund stressed, it is vitally important that the West casts off its widow's weeds and ends the period of mourning after Gorbachev's demise.

"At present it is important to give aid, in the form of food, if you like, or provide support which will improve the balance of payments with foreign countries and which can be used for the purchase of consumer goods, so that the people do not rebel." Aslund also proposes a ruble stabilization fund of $5 billion: 30 billion kroner.

Supreme Soviet

First Joint Session Awaited With 'Interest'

PM1701120592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Sorokin and Aleksandr Shinkin: "They Took into Account... Prices in Stores and Differences in Leaders' Offices"]

[Text] The first joint session of the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of Nationalities was awaited with special interest. And this interest was considerably fuelled by the sensational statements of a number of top-echelon leaders.

Politicians, who, as is well known, are better than any barometers in determining the fluctuation of mutual relations among the ranks of those in power, were immediately galvanized. On the eve of the session there was a rapid regrouping of forces. A number of parties—the Peasant Party of Russia, the People's Party of Russia, Social-Democratic Russia, the Social-Liberal Association—got together and immediately revealed the coincidence of their positions on the main questions of the country's life. That is why they decided to create a bloc of political parties, calling it "New Russia." In the opinion of Oleg Rumyantsev this bloc is designed to occupy the left central or social-liberal niche, previously vacant.

Having noted their services to democracy and approved B. Yeltsin's course and having listed the ills of our society and the omissions of the government, the leaders of the united parties unanimously noted in their statement that nonetheless "the policy of the Russian leadership is in need of immediate and serious correction.

In our view the new bloc is a reaction to R. Khasbulatov's statement on the resignation of the government. And at a press conference the leaders of the parties unequivocally made clear their main demand: Hands off Ye. Gaydar's government.

The council of the "Democratic Russia" bloc of parliamentary factions of the Supreme Soviet acted similary. On the evening of 22 January they held a press conference and issued an appeal to the people's deputies protesting the launching of a campaign of unconstructive criticism aimed at discrediting the government's actions.

In the opinion of S. Yushenkov, the Supreme Soviet chairman can place his own understanding above the laws. And in addition, the organizers of the conference noted, in expressing the interests of the military-industrial complex and big economic leaders, he is trying to exchange power for property.

But all these thunderclouds were dispersed in the first minutes of the start of the chambers' joint sitting by the statement by the chair: We shall make no decisions and shall restrict ourselves to constructive talk. And then everything proceeded as it did in the good old days: speeches, questions, requests...

Boris Nikolayevich, having delivered his speech, decided not to answer parliamentarians' questions. The loquacious Ye. Gaydar had to take the rap, so to speak, both for Yeltsin and himself. He again tried to reassure the parliamentarians that free prices are a serious measure, but there is no other way. The difficulties of the first days are inevitable, there is a drastic breakdown of economic relations. This must be treated without panic.

In brief it seems that everyone felt good at the session. Some demanded and denounced, others promised and repeated what they had already said. It was perhaps uncomfortable for R. Khasbulatov. This time his commentaries and remarks were, figuratively speaking, hissed by some parliamentarians. But the attempts by some to focus the talk on his statement about the government's resignation were not crowned with success.

But two new motifs did perhaps appear in the talks. The guilt of the CPSU and the party and economic nomenklatura which allegedly is ruining and sabotaging reform was again brought to the fore. Well, that is obviously a way out: There is no meat, the blame lies with the partyocrats who have settled at the meat combines...

But at the same time B. Yeltsin himself urged the law enforcement organs to take a more active part in implementing economic reform and fulfilling the decisions of the government and the president himself.

The Supreme Soviet members took into account the discussion of the socioeconomic situation in Russia in connection with the liberalization of prices. Let us see how the people themselves, about whom B. Yeltsin spoke with respect in his speech, treat the new step into the civilized world. Will they not shout, as they did in Petersburg: "You have taken enough!"

Further on Establishment of News Structure

RITA Role Described

LD2201163292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—Russia is not able to maintain both state agencies—TASS and RIA-News [RIA-Novosti], said Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister for the press and mass media. He was commenting, at a TASS correspondent's request, on the decision to set up a new news structure, the Russian Information Telegraph Agency (RITA). The minister reported that a decree was signed today by the Russian president on merging the structures of TASS and the former APN [Novosti Press Agency]. RITA will be subordinate to the Russian president, government, and parliament.

At the same time, an independent TASS structure will be set up within RITA, as its trade name has to be preserved. TASS, said Mikhail Poltoranin, will serve Russia and the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and work to coordinate the countries of the Commonwealth. As a whole, RITA will serve Russia and the world.

There has been a unified news service in Russia for almost 100 years. The first major news center was the Russian Telegraph Agency (RTA), opened in 1894. Initially it gathered and disseminated information of a predominantly economic and commercial kind. But it was the PTA [Petrograd Telegraph Agency], which arose on the basis of the RTA in 1914, that first became a link between the newspapers of Russia and the telegraph agencies of other countries in the gathering and relaying of news.

The PTA, retaining its name and structure, stood its ground in the October Revolution. But in September 1918, it merged with the Sovnarkom [Soviet of People's Commissars] press bureau and was transformed into a unified government information body—the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA).

The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) was formed in July 1925 in connection with the formation of the USSR. At the end of the 1930s TASS was already virtually part of the "club" of world news centers, which in the years of World War II made it, along with the INFORMBURO, a very important source of news from the fronts. Over the decades TASS developed and became a single news structure, bringing together the republican agencies and a network of correspondents in the Russian Federation and abroad.

Today's TASS news contacts (incidentally, of late this short form deciphers as the Telegraph Agency of the Commonwealth Countries) cover all of Russia (there are around 80 branches and correspondents' posts). It has an electronic communications system which links Moscow with the national agencies of the CIS member countries and other states on the territory of the former USSR round the clock.

A modern communications system exists between the agency's headquarters on Tverskoy Boulevard and the correspondents offices in every continent. TASS news in Russian and six foreign languages is received by subscribers in more than 100 countries. These include worldwide and national news agencies and leading television and radio corporations, newspapers, magazines, and government bodies.

The telegraphic, telephone, and radio channels linking TASS with all corners of the planet are soon to be joined by satellite communications channels, including the "computer to computer" variety. This novelty provides the opportunity of making widespread use of the TASS communications system for the exchange of business information among the CIS states and also of connecting with the world's systems of banking, stock exchange, and advertising information.

Committee Objects to Merger

OW2201172392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [22 January], the Media Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet decided to urge President Boris Yeltsin to suspend his Monday [20 January] decree on the merger of TASS and RIA-Novosti into the Russian news agency RITA.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that the committee intends to notify the president of its disagreement with the current procedure for taking decisions on the reorganization of state-run information agencies.

One such decision was taken upon the conclusion of hearings about the future of TASS and RIA, at which Russia's Press and Media Minister Mikhail Poltoranin represented the government.

Decree Not Yet Signed

LD2201201292 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sean Wood]

[Excerpts] Moscow January 22 TASS—Contradictory reports were released by TASS earlier today regarding a decree on news and information services on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The decree has not yet been signed and is under President Boris Yeltsin's consideration, according to press and mass media minister, Mikhail Poltoranin.[passage omitted]

TASS will retain its trade name and provide news services specifically for Russia and the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, acting as a central news coordinator. RITA as a whole will provide news services to Russia and the rest of the world. RIA-NOVOSTI will exist as an alternative joint stock company.

The leadership of the proposed new agency has not yet been discussed.

Speech Cancelled, 'Extreme Pressure' Cited

LD2301111192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov from the Russian White House on "this morning's" session of the Russian Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpt] Consideration of Russia's budget for the first quarter of this year, which was expected at the session, will not take place today. Everyone is waiting for a speech by President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin on this issue, but today, in view of extreme pressure of work [kraynyaya zagruzhennost], he is unable to be present at the session. The issue has been postponed until tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Treaty on Relations With Kyrgyzstan Ratified

LD2301124192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Tsygankov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] After a sufficiently lively 90-minute discussion, the treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan was ratified by the Russian parliament today. [video shows voting board: 201 for, none against, one abstention, 202 votes overall]. Shelov-Kovedayev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Russia, Grandberg, chairman of the Committee for Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation, Sherimkulov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Kyrgyzstan, presented the treaty and answered the numerous questions put by deputies.

On the insistence of the deputies the Government of Russia has been charged with concluding a number of agreements with the Republic of Kyrgyzstan which should ensure the rights of national minorities living in that republic.

Deputies Concerned About German Autonomy

OW1701131592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [16 January], 82 Russian parliamentarians directed a letter to the Russian president to express concern over autonomy for the Russian Germans on the Volga. The letter authors expect that the president will support the Germans' legitimate desire to gain statehood within the borders of the Russian Federation.

The letter was signed by Dimitriy Volkogonov, Gleb Yakunin, Sergey Yushenkov, Mikhail Molostvov, Bella Denisenko, Sergey Krasavchenko, Aleksandr Pochinok and others.

The Supreme Soviet's Chamber of Nationalities set up a commission for the affairs of repressed and deported ethnic groups.

Presidium Session Discusses State of Affairs

Session Outlined

PM2301111992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "At Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] A session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was held under R.I. Khasbulatov's chairmanship at the House of the Soviets 20 January. Before beginning work on the agenda, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet reported on the results of his trip to Udmurtia. [passage omitted]

M.A. Mityukov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, familiarized presidium members with the drafts of the following legislative acts: "On the Procedure for Determining the Structure of the Russian Federation Government and for Appointing and Dismissing Ministers and Chairmen of State Committees and Departments of the Russian Federation," "On the Procedure for Appointing People's Deputies Elected to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to Leading Posts in the System of Executive Power of the Russian Federation," "On the Application of Article 92 of the Russian Federation Constitution," and "On the Draft Law 'On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Constitution.'" The documents in question have been referred for examination by parliamentary committees and commissions.[passage omitted]

The resolution "On State Regulation of the Activity of Monopolist Enterprises" was adopted; among other things, it instructs the State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and the Support of New Economic Structures and the Russian State Committee for Statistics to draw up and ratify a state register of monopolist enterprises and ensure monitoring of their production volumes so as to prevent the creation of artificial shortages and establish state control of the prices of goods and services provided by such enterprises.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium considered it expedient to postpone the submission for ratification of the Treaty on the Basic Principles of Interstate Relations between the Russian Federation and the Latvian Republic in view of the talks that are currently being held and referred the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia to committees and commissions for discussion.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium session also examined other questions of the Russian Federation's state life.

Khasbulatov Opines

PM2201121492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Ruslan Khasbulatov Puts the Government and the Press on the Right Track"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the crisis in relations between the parliament and government of Russia had apparently been settled, Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, deemed it necessary to return to the subject. At the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium session held 20 January, he stated that he had many reasons for expressing "certain opinions" on the economic reform. He also expressed the view that if he had refrained from speaking out it would not have been to his credit personally, nor to that of the Supreme Soviet. Ruslan Khasbulatov described his speech as timely and explained that he did it so that Russian society would realize: "Despite all our cooperation, there is a difference between the parliament and government." Parliament, the Supreme Soviet chairman stated, will support everything that is progressive and rebuff everything that is reactionary in the actions of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Citing his own experience as an economist, Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed the conviction that there is potential for reaction in the gulf between pricing policy and the general policy of privatization, the liberalization of foreign trade, and the regions' lack of economic autonomy. "Unless we bring all three currents together into a single process, we will achieve nothing," he stated.

In the opinion of the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman, the president's decree devoted to foreign economic activity also carries a substantial reactionary charge. He agreed with the opinion expressed earlier by Deputy Vladimir Isakov, that the decree does not provide for any liberalization of foreign economic activity. R. Khasbulatov therefore gave instructions for the drafting of a parliamentary resolution on the liberalization of foreign economic activity, which should stipulate the right to buy and sell land plots for production purposes. Even for foreign citizens. This measure, in his opinion, will ensure an influx of foreign investments.

He also gave instructions for a draft resolution to be prepared on abolishing value-added tax on food products. The resolution should be ready in a week, whether the government agrees or not.

To justify his resolute actions in a sphere more appropriate to the executive, Ruslan Khasbulatov simply confirmed: "We are taking on some government functions." He also observed: "When the government misses the point about something, it misses it well and truly."

In his speech the speaker of parliament also touched on problems of the budget, which is to be discussed this week. While criticizing it, he nonetheless called on his colleagues to support the draft budget, since it is the only one we have. Here there was a scene that caused some perplexity among those present. Criticizing the draft budget, Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed the view that it would have been much better if the government members, instead of concerning themselves with ideology and propaganda, had gotten down to their real work, instead of entrusting it to "Mishka Kiselev and Petka Filippov." No one was able to find out what lay behind this observation, since Russian People's Deputy Petr Filippov, who attempted to voice a protest, was promptly expelled from the session by the speaker.

An account of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium session would be incomplete if it did not mention another topic that sometimes seemed to be practically the most important, although it did not figure on the agenda. The topic was the parliamentary speaker's attitude to the mass media. In the course of the session Ruslan Khasbulatov returned to it several times, and each time it was as if the clocks had been put back and these words were being spoken by the speaker of a different parliament, one that no longer exists. Though admittedly that other speaker was not noted for such trenchant expressions and disparaging views.

The reason for dissatisfaction was the television coverage of the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman's visit to Udmurtia. According to Ruslan Khasbulatov, everything is calm in that republic, but the Channel One correspondent described the situation as critical. For the rest, so as to avoid being accused of unprofessionalism or lack of objectivity, I will quote the monologue itself:

"And I did not understand television's Channel One, which expressed the view that there is a crisis there. Evidently that is how our press is organized at the moment, and we must regulate it. The committee on the press—I am asking Comrade Bragin—I don't know what you are doing. But I cannot see any regulatory activity on your part... Look how maliciously foreign journalists criticize our parliament! And look how they treat their own parliament and their own government. Look, and compare. And why? Because our own journalists set them an example of malicious criticism. Let them just try to criticize their own parliament in the same spirit! But you know where I stand as regards the press. We must draw conclusions. Do we have a budget discussion tomorrow? Fine, then please, make provisions for funding—what they should get, what they should not get. Look at the wages of journalists in state service. Fine, go ahead and criticize anyone you like. But the first thing you need is objectivity. Agreed? What about professionalism? How can we tolerate it when people come here, to the presidium, who have no sense of objectivity and do not have the necessary mastery of the profession to be able to understand the questions we are deciding here? Who needs a press like that?.. In short, I am asking you to draw serious conclusions, very serious. If anyone thinks we will tolerate this situation, they are wrong. Those who tolerated it are no longer with us."

And another quotation.

"The mass media are waging war on the state. That is the problem. I want you to grasp that thoroughly. And don't fall for that propaganda about democracy. Do you remember how we called for the widening of journalists' rights to information? But when they undermine the state—that is an entirely different matter."

It was unusual and surprising to hear such words coming from a leader whom we are all accustomed to regarding as a democrat. But it should be admitted that there is nothing new in these words. It is all painfully familiar. The desire to blame the press for the situation in the country, the attempt to tame an embarrassing publication by means of administrative measures. (Though this time not by means of a party gag, but through budget pressure. Which, incidentally, is much more painful for the victim.) We have seen it all before. Is it coming back? The spirit of bolshevism is apparently ineradicable in Russia. No sooner has he succeeded to a leadership post, when a man starts acquiring the habits of a great leader [vozhd], regarding any dissent from his own opinion as a personal attack, and any criticism of him as the undermining of the state's foundations. And he responds, as befits a great leader, with force.

Krasavchenko Also Critical

OW2001222192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee on economic reform Sergey Krasavchenko has supported Ruslan Khasbulatov's criticism of the government. In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Krasavchenko characterized Khasbulatov's statements as criticism of those who are hampering radical progressive reforms in the economy, but not as accusations against the government's reactionary policy in general.

Krasavchenko has supported Khasbulatov's opinion that profit tax rates established by the government are too high and value-added tax discourages manufacturers of food. Krasavchenko said that the committee on economic reform has serious claims against a draft budget for the first quarter of 1992 presented by the government. However, Krasavchenko did not agree with Khasbulatov's accusation that the government was unprofessional while preparing the draft budget.

Financial, Budgetary Matters Tackled

Banking Officials Interviewed

LD2001160292

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1740 GMT on 14 January carries a 12-minute "Parliamentry Herald" program in which RSFSR Supreme Soviet member Nosovets interviews Aleksandr Pochkin, head of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Budget, Plans, Taxes and Affairs; Pavel Medvedev, head of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet subcommission for banking affairs; and German Petrov, the RSFSR's leading Supreme Soviet expert on bank affairs. Nosovets opens the discussion by addressing Pochkin: "I now have in front of me, for instance, the agenda of the latest session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. As expected, the sitting of the presidium instructed your commission, that is, the commission for plan, budget, taxes, and prices [as heard] to work on quite a few issues." He then proceeds to question the three interviewees on various fiscal and economic matters. Questions covered are, among others, proposals by the commission for budget, plans, taxes and affairs on the future development of the tax system; functions of the Foreign Economic Bank, introduction of checks, formation of the budget, an proposed procedure for enterprises to make transactions, pension funds, and relations between the president and the Supreme Soviet.

Speaking about his commission's proposals, Aleksandr Pochkin lists various changes that might be introduced in the future into the tax policy, including reduction of the taxation of dacha plots. He concludes his answer by saying that "in January we will finish working on the formation of the Russian tax system."

Pavel Medvedev speaks on the importance of servicing the Russian foreign debt. The future of former Soviet banks abroad should also be resolved, he says. "We have banks abroad—to be more exact, the former USSR used to have banks abroad. The question of their future should be resolved in some way. The presidium will probably pass decisions on this today," Medvedev notes.

German Petrov says that "As far as the Foreign Economic Bank is concerned, I would like to note above all that in the eyes of enterprises of our republic, the RSFSR is to take over the debts of the former Union. And we are planning to set up the Foreign Economic Bank as the structure which will be servicing, and will become the intermediary working on the servicing, of the foreign debt. As to the Foreign Trade Bank, it will be engaged in normal daily operations. But the Foreign Economic Bank will be carrying out transactions connected with the repayment of the foreign debt, which is a complex matter, and which I think has not yet been resolved."

Petrov further proceeds to say that "the Supreme Soviet Presidium is setting out duties for the Foreign Economic Bank in relation to specific persons who at one time earned currency abroad, and who are now keeping their money in the Foreign Economic Bank. The repayment of the foreign debt has been brought forward so that the Foreign Economic Bank can avoid declaring itself bankrupt—something which it effectively did last December."

Pochkin reiterates that the Russian Government has pledged to repay all foreign debts. "The repayment procedure will be established somewhat later, but we will try to do it as soon as possible," he says.

Ending the program, Pochkin, speaking about the relationship between Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet, says: "The Supreme Soviet supports the president. We have always supported actions taken by Boris Nikolayevich. But if reality is such that his apparatus slips, or the president himself makes mistakes—he is a living human being after all—our duty is to put things right, to prompt him to an idea, to explain and to work toward changes in a civilized way, but not to be some sort of rubber-stamp, puppet Supreme Soviet which votes in favor always and unanimously. We unconditionally say yes to supporting the president. Nevertheless, we must very clearly conduct, among others, sensible financial and tax policies."

Brief on Debt, Currencies

OW2201223492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Russia's Central Bank Georgiy Matiukhin delivered his reports to separate meetings of the Russian parliament's two chambers.

He said the internal debt of the former Soviet Union amounted to 500 bn [billion] rubles, including 375 bn rubles for Russia. At the same time he told Russian parliamentarians that the Russian economics and finance ministry owes 140 bn rubles to the Central Bank.

While describing the bank's present condition Mr. Matiukhin said "the Central Bank was ashamed to submit its balance to the IMF because of the lack of assets". He added that the Russian government set aside 50 tons [as received] of gold, out of which 25 tons were received by the central bank and the rest as handed over to the Russian Foreign Trade Bank (Vneshtorgbank).

The Central Bank chairman was skeptical about the prospects of introducing national currencies by the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Announcing the introduction of one's own currency is not enough, it has to be recognized by other states, he explained. Mr. Matiukhin came out in favour of the setting up of an inter-state banking union, noting that the idea did not yet draw common support from the Commonwealth. He said Russia chose to conclude bilateral agreements on money circulation with Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. On Wednesday [22 January] representatives of Ukraine arrived in Moscow to hold talks on the subject, Mr. Matiukhin said.

He stressed in an exclusive IF [INTERFAX] interview that, according to his information, no preparations were being made for the introduction of a separate Russian currency.

Commentary on Budget

PM2201133392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Report by Yevgeniy Sorokin: "We Are Optimists: Things Will Get Even Worse"]

[Excerpts] Perhaps it is precisely these words in the headline which can be used to describe the forecast submitted by the Russian Government for the Russian Federation's socioeconomic development in the first quarter of 1992 and for the year as a whole. [passage omitted]

To describe in more detail the thrust of the deputies' complaints, it is obviously necessary to cite a number of figures presented in the draft budget. The size of the excess of the population's money revenue over expenditure in 1991 was about 83 billion rubles [R], or 4.3 times more than in 1990. The mint has worked "with sweat on its brow" but the lines producing consumer goods have often been at a standstill: In physical terms the population acquired 7 percent fewer goods and 24 percent fewer paid services than in 1990. The national income produced declined 11 percent.

Oil and coal extraction fell 11 percent, production of finished rolled ferrous metals fell 13 percent, and production of steel pipes fell 12 percent. The commissioning of housing from all sources of financing was just 50 million square meters, or 20 percent less than in 199

One forms the impression that the republic has not been working but holding meetings, which in principle is not that far from the truth. It would seem that we could not slide any lower. But the authors of the draft budget predict even greater troubles for us. According to their forecasts the decline in the national revenue in 1992 will be about 11-12 percent and even more in the first quarter—16-18 percent.

Russians are not simply becoming poorer, they are dying off. Whereas in 1989 the population growth rate was four per 1,000, this year the figure is expected to be 1.8 per 1,000. On the other hand the death rate has increased from 10.7 to 11.5 per 1,000. Whereas in 1987 life expectancy was 70 years, this year it will hardly be 69.

The total number of those employed in the national economy may be reduced by 8 million. On the other hand over 1 million refugees are expected. The commissioning of housing will be about 70 percent of 1991. The commissioning of schools and hospitals and the production of printed output are being reduced. The decline in industrial production will be at least 8 percent and in the first quarter 10 percent. The extraction of energy sources—oil, gas, and coal—and electricity generation will decline.

In light industry (and this is with today's empty shelves) in the first quarter alone the production of cotton textiles will decline 10 percent, the production of woolen textiles 38 percent, of silk textiles 47 percent, hosiery and knitted articles production will decline 14 and 13 percent respectively and shoe production will decline 12 percent. Agricultural output production will decline by a further 3.1 percent, including a 9 percent reduction for meat production, a 12 percent reduction for butter, and a 15 percent reduction in cheese and groats production.

In brief, the situation is bad. I must admit that I have never once before read anything so dreadful. Despite the optimistic notes present in the government forecast, nothing good should be expected.

But it is not so much these gloomy figures which are being criticized by the deputies as the forecast itself. In their opinion it has been compiled in the spirit of the times of stagnation. To be honest, one wants to give it a heading something along the lines of "Russia on the March." The experts invited to the hearings noted that the consolidated budget is not linked to regional forecasts and it contains many purely editorial and accounting inaccuracies. You form the impression that it was compiled by nonprofessionals.

As O. Grigoryev, adviser to the "Smena" faction, noted, that the figures have sometimes been plucked out of thin air. Thus, the majority of items indicate a price increase rise coefficient of 1.9 although the output of a number of enterprises has already increased in price tens of times over. What is most interesting is that the draft forecasts compiled by experts differ considerably from the government forecast. While the Ministry of the Economy and Finance plans a production decline of 10 percent, the budget compiled as the amalgam of the forecasts of the regions provides, on the contrary, for a 2 percent increase in national income.

Deputy S. Polyakov, I think, summed up the thrust of the problem in a nutshell:

"I am not afraid to say that few people can understand the mass of documents submitted to us. Perhaps that was what was counted on? But we have already "gone through" that once when last year in one day we adopted the Russian budget merely in order to "spite" Gorbachev. Our government hopes that the market will resolve everything for itself. But in the present distorted situation the transition to the market is fatal. It is only the sphere of financial turnover, the upper stratum so to speak of the economy—trade—that is being privatized. On the other hand commodity producers still belong to the state and remain monopolists. Under these conditions it is more advantageous to reduce production but increase prices, which is what we are seeing now. The government has no programs to save the base sectors of industry."

To all appearances it is the budget which will give rise to the most serious clashes between the government and parliament. From talking to deputies it is obvious that the government will be obliged to embark on another unpopular measure—a monetary reform of a confiscatory nature. The situation for the government is really tragic: The rejection of this step and the desire to take it are both suicidal for it. But you have to be a big politician to understand the main thing: The present government leaders are only temporary figures who have to do the dirtiest work in order later to resign to thunderous curses. To judge by the draft budget which has been submitted that is what will happen.

Correction: Burbulis Addresses Parliament

LD2201130392

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Burbulis Addresses Parliament," published in the 21 January Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, page 57:

Column one, paragraph two, sentence one should read:

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed colleagues: It is our view that a fairly fruitful formulation has been implemented today. It confirms the main thing—that we are as one in the diagnosis, the economic illness is there for all to see, and we are ever more unanimous as regards the choice of means and methods of treating it.

I am ready... (deleting paragraphs two through nine, supplying missing passage).

Comparison of Yeltsin Supreme Soviet Address

CM2201200292

Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 17 January 1992 carries in its First Edition on pages 1-2 a

TASS-SKRIPT account of Russian President B. Yeltsin's 16 January address to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Comparison of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA item, entitled "Russian President's Speech," with the translation of the Moscow Russian TV version reveals the following variations:

Page 41, column two, paragraph two, sentence four reads: ...hope or faith in the Supreme Soviet and the president, and the government is not standing idly... (rewording);

Page 41, column two, last paragraph, last sentence reads: ...significant influence of an elementary inability... (omitting "a lumpen mentality");

Page 42, column one, first full paragraph, sentence one reads: ...230 tonnes. They have squandered Russia's gold—around... (rewording);

Page 42, cclumn one, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...and the consumers—but this will not... (rewording);

Page 42, column one, paragraph three, sentence two reads: ...of the consumer, in which it is precisely... (rewording);

Page 42, column one, paragraph three, sentence four reads: ...been inordinately hiked are beginning to fall. Of... (rewording);

Page 42, column two, paragraph two, sentence three reads: ...chains of command of the whole corps... (adding "of");

Page 43, column one, first partial paragraph, third full sentence reads: ...to be fixed in trade establishments [v torgakh]—it is by no means always understandable how this happens. Trade establishments still exist in many... (rewording);

Page 43, column one, paragraph two, sentence four reads: ...are released from a commercial markup [natsenka]. I believe this... (rewording);

Page 43, column one, paragraph three, single sentence reads: ...the system of trade establishments, and of course... (rewording);

Page 43, column one, paragraph four, sentence three reads: ...was falling, the jacking up of the financial... (rewording);

Page 43, column two, paragraph one, sentence one reads: ...Third, the major field of work is the speeding up of land reform: Because... (rewording);

Page 44, column one, paragraph one, sentence one reads: ...enterprise which has bought up ownership of its own enterprise, and the work... (rewording);

Page 44, column one, paragraph three, sentence four reads: ...is nearly complete. Thus, the Supreme Soviet is dealing with... (omitting "...which is a competent body to do so...");

Page 44, column one, paragraph four, sentence three reads: ...adopted and signed unconditionally. It is, evidently... (adding "unconditionally");

Page 44, column two, third full paragraph, sentence one reads: ...tax policy, and will soften it... (omitting passage);

Page 44, column two, third full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...foodstuffs are concerned. Because value increases from enterprise to enterprise, as it were, and in the end an egg costs 21 rubles and 60 kopeks in St. Petersburg, whereas an egg's prime cost is approximately 5-6 rubles, so it turns out that the profit level here is more than 200 percent—which is quite unjustified. Therefore, with value-added taxes at 28 percent, it is necessary to review the question fairly urgently with regard to a number of products, particularly perhaps foodstuffs. Esteemed People's Deputies... (rewording; picking up sixth paragraph, first sentence);

Page 44, column two, last paragraph, sentence two reads: ...and on mortgages. In a draft amendment civil law is linked with the transformation of property relations. Parliament... (rewording).

Regional Affairs

Paper Sums Up Khasbulatov's Udmurtiya Trip

PM2301104192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Linkov report: "Adopted Laws Are Not Dogma. They Need Amendment"]

[Text] At a news conference to sum up the results of his trip to the Udmurt Republic, Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov noted that the main thing he saw was people's faith in the need to carry out economic reform. This faith is reinforced by the patience and restraint being shown. The majority of people view with understanding the measures now being taken by the president and the Russian Supreme Soviet. But at the same time, R. Khasbulatov noted, none of this means that the adopted decrees and laws are necessarily correct and inviolable. On the contrary, it is necessary to react swiftly to the negative consequences of applying an imperfect normative act and introduce appropriate amendments. There is nothing extreme in this; such things exist in every country.

It is hard to disagree with the Russian parliament leader. On the second day of his stay in Udmurtiya he held meetings with republic people's deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. At these meetings many criticisms were made of the Russian Federation's legislature and executive over the poor preparation of some of the decisions already adopted. This could have been avoided, it was said at the meeting, if local specialists, scientists, and people's deputies had been involved in elaborating the draft laws.

The process of sovereignization has not by-passed Udmurtiya. No, this republic does not aspire to secede from the federation. People here link their life to Russia alone. But a draft treaty with the Russian Federation has now been prepared and was passed on to R. Khasbulatov. It envisages the transfer of some of the republic supreme authorities' rights to the localities, which, in the opinion of the local drafters [of the treaty], will permit greater efficiency in management and timelier decision-making.

Prices in Udmurtiya have rocketed, as they have throughout Russia, and leaders of industrial and agricultural enterprises literally do not know how their collectives will operate over the next couple of months. Economic links have been severed, and raw material and component deliveries have been disrupted. The monopoly enjoyed by certain enterprises allows them to dictate exorbitantly high prices, causing their partners and, ultimately, ordinary people to suffer. Because of this disarray, it is difficult to implement conversion in the defense industry, which occupies a leading position in Udmurtiya. Here is a minor example, spotted at an exhibition of consumer goods produced by the "defense sector." The Votkinskiy Zavod Production Association began producing children's strollers. You cannot call them a a masterpiece of design, and the designer clearly did not use much imagination on them. But given our universal shortages, even strollers like these would certainly suit young parents. However, whereas last year one of these strollers cost a little over 100 rubles [R], now its price has soared to R700.

It is also impossible to ignore the fact that there are confrontations in the Udmurt Supreme Soviet. R. Khasbulatov met with members of the Democratic Udmurtiya deputies' faction. They believe that the present Supreme Soviet is incapable of carrying out any radical reforms, and the same goes for the republic Council of Ministers. The draft treaty with Russia that has been prepared does not meet necessary requirements. Other complaints against the local authorities were also expressed.

In short, it is a mirror image of events in the Russian parliament and in other krays and oblasts. Of course, there is nothing terrible about this if the opposition proposes some kind of constructive solutions to improve matters. It is significantly worse if everything is criticized indiscriminately and nothing is proposed instead, when deeds are replaced by hot air and this is then passed off as work. I will return again to the news conference, at which R. Khasbulatov was asked about the reasons for his sharp criticism of the Commission To Investigate the Activities of the Members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. "The mountain brought forth a mouse," he said. "In practice, very little was done in five months. Everything got bogged down in discussion. According to information at my disposal, similar work could have been done in five minutes, not months. We cannot work like this."

The two-day trip to the Udmurt Republic certainly gave the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman plenty of food for thought and for analysis of current events. He himself did not hide the fact that the main aim of his visit was to observe and compare. Real life, including in Udmurtiya, shows that parliament's legislative activity is far from perfect. It is necessary to urgently amend the laws which have been adopted.

Sobchak Views Current Issues, Policies

924C0360A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, 15 Jan 92 p 11

[Interview with Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg, by Nina Katerli, writer, and Tatyana Putrenko, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent; place and date not given: "Today I am in the Position Where I Need Most To Be"]

[Text] **The conflict between the mayor of St. Petersburg and the deputies of the city soviet became known beyond the confines of the city long ago. The pressure on Anatoliy Sobchak has increased recently: His resignation is being demanded both by the "right wing" ("our people" along with the national patriots) and the most radical of the people's elect. The latter have even hastened to pass off what is desired as what is real, declaring through the Russian mass media that the mayor's resignation was almost a fait accompli. A number of deputies of the St. Petersburg Soviet also sent a very pointed letter to the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial offices. St. Petersburg writer Nina Katerli and our correspondent Tatyana Putrenko met with Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak and asked him a number of questions, including some that were touched upon in the letter received by the editorial staff.**

[Putrenko] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, I must not fail to ask you as a politician a question about what is happening on the territory of what we quite recently used to call our country. Russia is abolishing the Union structures and has swiftly "taken under protection" the buildings in the Kremlin and the property of the former USSR Supreme Soviet. They were literally "barking at the heels" of the departing Gorbachev. Does it not seem to you that this haste is unjustified and not altogether ethical?

[Sobchak] What is happening is the natural result of lengthy confrontation and struggle with the Union center, which until recently was represented by the communist nomenklatura, while after the elections opposition forces came to power. There has been a power struggle, and it is continuing to this day. Unfortunately, in this struggle, the republic leaders seem to have forgotten the cause for which it was all started, since they continue to destroy unified structures and ties (mainly economic) which should not be destroyed. As a result there is a sharp rise in crisis phenomena and a sharp deterioration of the life of the people. We now have excellent opportunities for creating a new political and economic system, but I am afraid that nationalism, separatism, sovereignization, and other genetic diseases of the postcommunist society will keep us from building a normal life. The haste with which the property and buildings of the Union center were seized (including Kremlin offices) is, in my view, the purest sign of neo-Bolshevism. How can we talk about ethics with this?!

[Katerli] You are the mayor of St. Petersburg and a lawyer. In the city, the law is constantly being violated in large and small ways. More and more frequently cars run red lights; the stores, in spite of prohibitions, trade in products that are clearly stolen from humanitarian aid; bureaucrats openly demand bribes. The neofascists (and the organizations generated along with them) become more brazen from day to day. All the procurator can do is whimper and say there is nothing illegal in this, and that's that! He does not notice the fascist rallies, newspapers, and leaflets.... And it is not just the procurator.... I am afraid that the real excesses have not even begun, simply because our citizens are obeying the law out of inertia. For now they are too timid. But there are those who are constantly wanting to convince them that there is no need to be timid.

[Sobchak] What you are talking about is growing into the most important problem today. There are several reasons for the increase in legal violations, lawlessness, and the danger of a wild outburst of an unruly crowd. They include the general decline of the authority of power, the impunity with which people violate the law, and the flaws in the legislation itself. But the main reason is still the decline of morals: Communist ideals have been destroyed, and we have not managed to acquire new ones yet. This is the most favorable environment for fascism.

[Katerli] But what will happen if tomorrow the crowd of hooligans and riffraff, taking cover under any slogan—"Freedom to everyone!" or "We cannot take any more, the people are tired!"—move to destroy the Yeliseyskiy Store? Or the television center? It is easy to imagine what will happen: At best there will be broken glass and serious looting. But the worst off will be those who try to stop the hooligans: "What?! Force against the people?!" And, of course, they are not the people at all but ordinary criminals. Or the fascists who were "stirred up for a sacred cause" by the television provocateur with the pretty face. Can you as the mayor of the city guarantee us citizens peace and security and unbroken windows?

[Sobchak] We are taking measures so that the raging of the mob provoked by the communist nomenklatura, which has gone underground; national-patriots; and other political riffraff will not threaten the safety and property of the citizens. I do not want to list them all, but I am convinced that we will be able to deal both with the hooligans and with the national-patriots in the city. Anyone who violates the Criminal Code will have criminal charges brought against him. No demagogy, no attempts to pass themselves off as opposition members and political warriors will help in these cases.

[Putrenko] Yet more and more frequently you yourself are being accused of violating the law. In a letter LITERATURNAYA GAZETA received from the deputies of the St. Petersburg Soviet, you see the accusations: Sobchak is placing expediency above the law, it asserts, which in certain cases can lead to violation of our clearly imperfect legislation. Serious accusations. Quite specific examples are given: your instructions that the court, the collegium of advocates, and the arbitration court are supposedly under the mayor's office. The court is declared to be autonomously run in general. They also say that you violated the rules when documenting transactions for reconstruction of the city architectural monument "New Holland," and so forth and so on....

[Sobchak] For me the principle of legality has been and always will be the main condition of the construction of a rule-of-law state and a democratic society. I do not accept accusations like that against me—they are based either on a distortion of the facts or on misunderstandings or in general on a desire to pass off what is desired for what is real in order to settle political accounts.

In fact, speaking, for example, about attempts to place the court, the arbitration board, and the collegium of advocates under the jurisdiction of the mayor's office, that is simply lying. There has never been a single case of intervention either by me or by any of the workers of the mayor's office in the affairs of law enforcement organs. Where do these lies come from? The fact is that we decided to change the existing structures and turn the functions of the Justice Administration (which has always handled methodological, economic, and organization-technical support for the activity of judicial organs) to the Juridical Committee created in the mayor's office. We were counting on the agreement of the RSFSR Ministry of Justice to eliminate the Justice Administration, but that did not happen. A real contradiction arose between two organs with identical functions. For certain people there was a threat of losing their jobs, and this was the origin of the accusation that the mayor's office wanted to take jurisdiction over the judicial organs, usurp their power, and so forth.

Now, in order to remove even the appearance that these reproaches are justified, I have made changes in the regulations on the mayor's office, and from now on we will not engage at all in economic or organization-technical support for these organs. As they say, good riddance.... Let me emphasize once again: None of the deputies who signed this letter or discussed this subject could give a single example of interference by the mayor's offices in the affairs of these organs, because it simply did not happen, nor could it happen.

Take the uproar over "New Holland." Before concluding the contract with a well-known French firm for the reconstruction of this island, we obtained conclusions from two committees of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, the question was discussed in the RSFSR government, and we created a public council composed of representatives of culture and industry. Everything was done openly and legally for the sake of the city's future. The political uproar over this project halted the work, and today I am not sure whether our French partners will want to participate in this project.

The "New Holland" episode is generally typical of our dependent psychology: For some reason we want someone to restore our palaces for us, build new buildings, and in general solve all our problems. But at the same time it would be nice if it were all done free of charge, as a gift. We can accept a gift. But there are also people who want to shout about sops and degradation. If a normal contract is concluded, people immediately start yelling about selling out Russia. But in my view, if we want to get out of the poverty and backwardness to which we were subjected by the communist system, we must do what Italy, Spain, South Korea, and other countries did at one time: Open our doors wide to foreign investments, lower taxes, give the opportunity to all who have money to acquire land, build buildings and plants, and sell our obsolete enterprises to foreign companies so they can reconstruct them and bring them up to the modern level. Then our local entrepreneurs too will begin to change from ordinary rogues into regular businessmen—after all, rogues flourish under deficit conditions but they simply will not survive with conditions of normal competition.

[Katerli] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, it turns out that we are always attacking you, but you are also being reproached for not being able to deal with the trade mafia. Indeed, one gets the impression that your attempts to solve the food problem in the city have an efficiency factor of zero. In the sphere of trade, there is mass, brazen robbery and abuses. No matter who sends us anything or what they send, it all ends up in the "black hole." Neither ration cards nor assigning people to stores in their place of residence helps. Unlimited quantities of fake cards are printed on the same machines as the real ones are, and as soon as specific people are assigned to a specific store one discovers a family of 100 "dead souls." The housing office tries as hard as it can to provide cards for this "large" family. If the city were to receive as much food as it needs to turn in all the coupons, an insignificant part of this food would end up on the shelves. For today everything is being sold at market prices: Bureaucrats are selling their signatures, stamps, decisions to grant benefits, and everywhere gifts from overseas.

[Sobchak] I cannot agree that an insignificant amount of the food would end up on the shelves and the rest would go to the black market. A good deal is stolen from us but still each month we provide goods for more than 100 percent (including fake ones) of the coupons that are issued. I could tell of dozens of criminal cases brought against trade workers, firings of officials, etc., but there is only one reliable means of fighting against the mafia in the sphere of trade: privatization and elimination of the deficit. I think that during the process of transition to the market and the reforms we have begun we will manage to solve this problem as well.

[Katerli] But still it seems that will happen before complete privatization—that is, it will become disadvantageous to steal from ourselves. But what should we do in the meantime? Soon the whole city will turn into an immense second-hand store.

[Putrenko] Yes, and many bureaucrats today are corrupt—everybody knows that. People you appointed are working in the mayor's office, in particular. You have said repeatedly that when appointing people to management posts you keep one criterion in mind—professionalism. In the mayor's office there are a mass of "professionals" from the former city executive committee and former Smolnyy apparatchiks. These are all people with communist ideology and by definition they cannot desire the success of the reforms. Or are you confident that the burden of the past will not keep them from working and performing their duties conscientiously? I dare say that sometimes they simply sabotage the decisions you make. Take just the recent case of the interruption of negotiations with Finnish businessmen. You agreed with them to have food delivered to St. Petersburg, they came, and the mayor's office had not prepared the necessary documents.

[Sobchak] Today we cannot do without experienced professionals (including from the former structures). The team in the mayor's office is formed and, of course, mistakes are made (we are trying to get rid of such workers), but this takes time. The example you gave with Finland is not a good one: The version about the unpreparedness of the mayor's office for the negotiations arose from the words of the Finns themselves, and if the journalists had not just asked them but asked us as well we would have explained that the conditions proposed by the Finnish side did not suit us. This was just an attempt to grab a tasty morsel (petroleum products, timber, nonferrous metals, and so forth)—it is no wonder that the participants in the negotiations came to the city for only a couple of hours. As of today, after long and difficult negotiations, we have reached the point of signing contracts, but under different conditions that are more advantageous to the city.

[Katerli] How do you explain the daily conflicts between the representative and executive branches? Perhaps the essence of the conflict is that the executive branch has inadvertently committed itself to engage in daily work. And the executive power has to limit itself to developing laws, monitoring their execution, approving the budget, and so forth. But that is boring! One wants struggles and denunciations.... It is no accident that the temporary consolidation of the mayor's office and the city soviet arose suddenly, and not for long during the days of the putsch, a common enemy had appeared. Well, perhaps it is time to understand that the enemy exists today as well! It is the right-wing revanchists who have now joined with the neofascists. Zhirinovskiy and those fools from Pamyat are just the tip of the iceberg. The invisible part of it includes closet partocrats and ultra-left-wing radicals who do not know what they are doing or for whom they are objectively working.

[Sobchak] The conflict between the two branches is natural; I have said that many times, and so has Gavriil Popov. The current soviets were formed under the conditions of the communist regime, while the executive branch arose on a different basis. We must reform the soviets as quickly as possible, hold new elections, and—I am convinced of this—many of the current deputies who came to power on a wave of denial will not have a chance of continuing their political activity. Thank God!

[Katerli] In Moscow there was a so-called "march of the hungry waiting in line" and nobody even gave a thought to those who organized this provocation. After all, in reality the old women with numbers on their palms would not leave their places in line to rally and march! On 28 December in St. Petersburg an invalid, as a sign of protest against the lack of sausage in the Yeliseyevskiy Store, lay down in the middle of Nevskiy Prospekt, stopping traffic. Just by "chance" nearby there happened to be Nevzorov with a television camera and the leader of the OFT [United Workers Front], Professor Popov, with the slogan: "In '17 they took the Winter Palace, in '91 let us take Smolnyy!" (the mayor's office is in Smolnyy). It seems to me that these demonstrations are conducted exclusively to provoke the authorities to take measures in response. How should the city leaders and the militia react in such cases?

[Sobchak] Well, as you know, they anticipated the last provocation: The militia showed restraint and calmly waited until the crowd dispersed. But still we must take countermeasures, and take them now, steadily, continuously, not allowing ourselves to be distracted by anything. That is primarily the task of the press which, unfortunately, only today is figuring out what to denounce (previously only praise was acceptable). But it is necessary to explain to people what our opponents are doing and why and how, what this can lead to, and what threatens each individual, even those most removed from politics. We must not lament over the market and the removal of price controls but understand that emotions will not help here; they will only do harm. That is as if you were to go up to an operating table on which there was a patient with a ruptured appendix and tried to take the scalpel away from the surgeon: "What are you doing? He will bleed! It will hurt!" But the main thing is that we must have a clear understanding that those who are organizing provocations today and planting rebellion in people's hearts are not feeding anybody.

[Putrenko] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, what are the reasons for your confrontation with the press? Is this not your own fault?

[Sobchak] There is no confrontation, but there is a campaign to discredit the new organs of power which was deliberately inspired and appeared on the general wave. Discreditation for the sake of discreditation. Our press is becoming more and more yellow or brown—for it is so difficult for a person who has always held his tongue to adapt to freedom of speech. It takes time.

[Putrenko] Well, excuse me, but I cannot agree with such categorical assessments of our work—both my own and my colleagues. In my opinion, the problem is that the new authorities still have an extremely unique understanding and interpretation of that same "freedom of speech." They will probably need time as well.

[Katerli] The last question: Does it not seem to you that your decision to become mayor was a mistake? After all, you are a born politician and not a business executive. Your previous rating came from there—from your speeches in the Supreme Soviet, from your work on the commission on Tbilisi, and so forth. Even today your achievements in the post of the leader of the city are more the result of political activity, various meetings, and negotiations, and the result of popularity in the West. You have taken on a thankless job: "They can only love the dead," or at best the persecuted.

[Sobchak] No, it does not seem that way to me, although it is incredibly difficult. But today I am in exactly the place where the country needs me most. You are mistaken if you think the mayor is a business executive. He is primarily a politician. It is a different matter that today every business issue is immediately (under the conditions of a hostile and disunited society) transformed into a political one.

Ratings bother me least of all. I anticipated all this ahead of time, and I did not take this job out of a desire for glory. Even today I would do the same thing all over again in the name of the future.

What troubles me most today is that the majority of our compatriots do not understand a simple truth: The more divided we are, the more inclined we are to fight with one another and look for enemies, the less the chances for success of any excellently conceived reform. For reforms to be successful, a favorable political and psychological background is needed. Without this understanding we risk experiencing another age of fascism. Previously it was communists, and now we are getting the common variety (to use the brilliant words of M.I. Romm).

Leningrad Oblast Chief Outlines Strategy

PM1501125892 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 92 First Edition p 3

[Interview with A. Belyakov, head of Leningrad Oblast Administration, by A. Shakhov, under the rubric "The Right to Power"; place and date not given: "Aleksandr Belyakov: I Am for Civilized Conflict"]

[Text] In the days when applause used to continue endlessly, Belyakov's career, having reached the mark of "director," acquired a steady rate of progress—zero. Director of one poultry unit, then another, then a third.... Sideways moves—in short, he had hit the ceiling. He had no prospects: He was too keen and went in for criticism.

However, the voters had their own views and empowered him to watch over their interests in Leningrad Oblast Soviet. Belyakov's election as deputy to Yarov, chairman of the soviet, finally cleared him of the verdict pronounced on him by the nomenklatura.

The "Yarov-Belyakov" tandem proved strong. It is well known that at the recent congress Yu. Yarov was elected deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The president appointed A. Belyakov head of the oblast administration.

[Shakhov] I wonder, how did you feel, Aleksandr Semenovich, when you removed your deputy's badge from your lapel?

[Belyakov] I felt regret. It is always difficult to part with a job to which you have given much. At the same time I fully understand that if a person has chosen to work on an executive body, he must lose his parliamentary immunity and bear immediate responsibility for any mistakes—with no special protection. I am prepared for that.

[Shakhov] Do you not think that anyone who joins the executive now is seriously jeopardizing his career?

[Belyakov] That is true. But I have never chosen comfortable places to work. I like to overcome difficulties, if you will excuse my lack of modesty. If I feel I am capable of something, then I tackle it.

[Shakhov] Was your choice affected by the current ascendancy of the executive over the representative powers?

[Belyakov] I would not say that, and I certainly do not want any kind of change of power to take place. Distortions must be avoided. I am in favor of the independent and equal existence of all three forms of power—representative, executive, and judicial. You are right to say that, unfortunately, what has been happening here recently has been a struggle for superiority rather than action. As an administrator, I certainly don't need this. I do not want to be above the soviet. But nor do I want to be below it in my powers. Let all three powers be strong in themselves, rather than at each other's expense.

Why, for instance, do we need a strong representative power? First, because this is the power of the people, personified in the deputies. People's interests differ, so deputies should differ. But the basis should be the will of the majority, which reflects the view that is closest to the truth. You could say that representative power fulfills a linking role between the people and the executive.

Second, the soviets are called upon to exercise the important function of control, first and foremost to monitor finances. To say nothing of the ratification of the budgets of the state and local levels of administration. But this does not mean that they should keep an eye on every kopek that is spent. Once you have given the administration a budget, let it spend it. There is plenty for everyone to do.

[Shakhov] Is that the head of administration talking?

[Belyakov] Not at all. I worked on the oblast soviet for 18 months, and I can see very well that in its present form, the soviet is a spent force. An oblast parliament of 250 people is simply not needed. Twenty or thirty people working on a permanent basis is enough.

[Shakhov] To use a figurative comparison, the soviet is the shipowner and the administrative power is the ship's crew. The shipowner gives the crew its mission, but as for what course to follow to reach the objective quickest—that is up to the captain and the seamen.

[Belyakov] But you must remember that the executive branch of power, unlike the representative branch, must without fail have a vertical hierarchy. Otherwise favorable conditions are created for the formation of petty principalities, which has done us a lot of damage before now. At the moment we are learning everything. It is a pity that we are learning from our own mistakes.

[Shakhov] Perestroyka began with the slogan: "Give us acceleration!" This word is not in fashion now, but we can see acceleration all around us in the sense of haste and rushing things. The impression is that far from observing the rule "measure seven times and cut once," sometimes people do not even bother to measure once. Do you agree?

[Belyakov] The higher the level of power, the more costly a mistake is. In order to put a barrier in the path of mistakes, in our oblast administration we envisage seeking expert reports on all decisions at the draft stage, however good they may appear. Everything should be questioned. The principle of sole responsibility [yedinolichiye] will now operate in the executive power too, as is only right, as well as the principle of personal accountability. However, before a decision is adopted, I will consult with experts. Three special organs are being set up for this purpose. The first is the administrative council, which will include heads of rayons and cities in the oblast. I don't think I need to comment on that.

The second is the council of entrepreneurs, whom I will consult with on economic problems. The better an entrepreneur works and the bigger his income, the more significant his contribution to the state budget in the form of tax. I think we have lost a great deal because the leadership did not pay attention to businesspeople.

The third body is the council of representatives of social organizations. I will meet with their leaders constantly.

[Shakhov] Irrespective of their political orientation?

[Belyakov] Yes, so as not to pursue a one-sided policy. I should know all the opinions and take account of them.

Then there is the council of experts. The number of its full-time staffers is small, but they will enlist the help of experts who are professionals in the field in question.

It is my profound conviction that the main function of our level of power is the oblast's development strategy. If we work out the right strategy, we will adopt the correct tactics too. We must work not from tactics to strategy, but the other way round, even if it is very difficult for us at the moment.

[Shakhov] Do you foresee conflicts between the council of experts and the apparatus, which will propose its own solutions?

[Belyakov] I'll say! It will be a constant conflict. But a civilized and fruitful conflict. There will certainly be disputes. Our job is to choose the best option, so as to achieve the best possible result at the least cost.

[Shakhov] A variant of Murphy's Law states that in a hierarchy every employee tends to rise to his level of incompetence. That is a joke, but it contains a substantial grain of truth. How can you turn a filing clerk into a worker with initiative?

[Belyakov] You can do it. In the West they have long since worked out and applied systems of incentives for civil servants. There are various incentives. One is promotion. Over there, an employee knows that if he shows initiative and demonstrates high potential, he can expect a higher status.

God gave us all the potential to work up to a certain level of power. One person can manage 10 people, another can manage a hundred. Someone else may be incapable of coping with even two subordinates. That is not because of inadequacy on his part. He may be a very good practical worker.

The second incentive is that if a worker shows a high level of performance he can expect a permanent increase in wages. Such a staffer is valued for his experience. People who have worked in the same place for a long time should be cherished and valued. Their experience is costly, and sometimes we fail to take that value into account.

In Rus we have always had a campaign of belittling civil servants, and politicians have belittled administrative organs. By belittling them they elevated themselves. What have we come to?

All kinds of work should be done by professionals. It is another matter that over 70 years our state has created the conditions for these professionals to become corrupted. They were given such small wages that they sought illegal sources of money. The top echelons of power were engaged in robbery and allowed the lower echelons to do the same.

If our state employees had had substantially higher wages than representatives of other spheres of activity, we would be at a far higher level of development today.

It is no use maintaining a superfluous apparatus, but people who are in the service of the state should be provided with every modern means of fruitful work—from an ordinary fountain pen to a personal computer.

Staffing and personnel training will be among the main concerns of the head of the oblast administration.

[Shakhov] What about the selection of personnel—what will be the criteria?

[Belyakov] Competence and honesty. The rest will follow. If someone is honest, you don't have to point out his mistakes, he will correct them himself.

[Shakhov] Incidentally, what do you do about your own mistakes?

[Belyakov] I try not to repeat them. It is true that he who does nothing never makes mistakes. We still have a great many administrators like that. They do not make mistakes, because they give other people the opportunity to do so.

Whether we like it or not, the whole of life consists of mistakes. The path of civilization is strewn with them. But there are different kinds of mistakes. If I, as head of administration, make a mistake in my strategy, it could cost hundreds of millions of rubles.

[Shakhov] On that subject, here is a question: St. Petersburg and the oblast are bound together by thousands of interwoven threads. So the head of the oblast administration has to act in tandem with Mayor Sobchak, City Hall, and the St. Petersburg Soviet. On the other hand, the oblast, like the city, has its own interests. How can these be reduced to a common denominator?

[Belyakov] I am opposed both to artificially joining the city and oblast and to dividing everything out between them. We should not be arguing about who should be subordinate to whom, but thinking about how to form a new system of relations.

Together with City Hall, we have to set up a most-favored status for entrepreneurs—both in the city and in the oblast, work out a strategy for the development of sectors of the economy, and stimulate those avenues that are the most important to us and produce the maximum social and economic benefits. Then the inhabitants of both city and oblast will get rich. The question of administrative hierarchies will disappear. The new economic situation will resolve it.

[Shakhov] Elections of the head of administration are to take place in a year's time. Will you run as a candidate?

[Belyakov] Given that I have been talking about strategy, why deny it? I have not come here for just one year. We must now work to make people trust us and see that we are leading them toward a better life.

The year 1992 will be very difficult for us. For everyone in the organs of power, it will be the front line.

On the other hand, bullets bounce off the brave.... So we will try, in the time allowed to me and my colleagues, to do everything in our power to ensure that the transition to the market takes place as painlessly as possible for our people. We will bring in prominent scientists and politicians. We will put our proposals and ideas to the Russian Supreme Soviet and government.

[Shakhov] Are you an ambitious man?

[Belyakov] A leader has to be ambitious, otherwise he is not a leader. But a good leader still puts his sense of duty first.

Trade Unions Launch Protest at Mayor's Office

OW2201182092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [22 January], the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions launched a three-day protest action outside the Mayor's Office and the City Council to press the demand that the city authorities impose administrative sanctions on those selling food at inordinately high prices, and scale down profit tax on the city's industrial enterprises. The federation's press service says the action is expected to involve worker delegations from the region's largest industrial plants.

Off-duty ambulance workers have been picketing the Mayor's Office since Tuesday [21 January] to demand double pay and better supplies of medicines, medical equipnent and transport services. As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent learned from a group of protesters, the medics would rather quit work than watch sick people suffer from acute drug shortages.

Krasnoyarsk Refuses Ukrainian Nuclear Waste

LD1801054192 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By correspondent Yuriy Khots]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk January 15 TASS—Starting from today, the Krasnoyarsk mining complex stops accepting nuclear waste from four Ukrainian nuclear power plants. The independent Ukraine has ignored repeated appeals of Krasnoyarsk to examine concrete proposals on economic cooperation, and on the decision of the local authorities, from January 15 the mining complex stops sending there special railway cars, in which heat-releasing waste products are transported.

"It is difficult to explain to residents of our region, why partnership should resemble a one-way traffic," Vyacheslav Novikov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk regional council, told TASS. "If we accept for storage the nuclear waste, we should get a corresponding compensation. Our decision is the last argument in favour of equitable economic cooperation."

As a result of Ukraine's silence, the Krasnoyarsk region will probably not receive food and manufactured goods from it. One can easily imagine what will be the result of this conflict for Ukrainian nuclear power plants, because the only enterprise which can store heat-releasing waste products from the nuclear power plants similar to the Ukrainian ones is situated in the Krasnoyarsk region.

Chelyabinsk Refuses To Store Atomic Weapons

LD2001114692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast refuses to accept atomic munitions and nuclear waste from the republics of the former USSR for storage on its territory. Vladimir Seleznev, representative of the Russian president for Chelyabinsk Oblast, states that atomic munitions and nuclear waste will not be stored, converted, or treated in Chelyabinsk Oblast.

Plant Engineer Denies Refusal

LD2201024692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Drozko, chief engineer at the Chelyabinsk Mayak production association for science and nuclear safety, has refuted rumors in the media that, following Krasnoyarsk's nuclear workers, those in the southern Urals too have declined to accept waste from nuclear power stations in the Ukraine for reprocessing. TASS reports him as saying that the enterprise's relations with its Ukrainian partners remain as before.

Irkutsk Concerned About Nuclear Materials

LD2001160392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast—read by announcer]

[Text] An appeal by the deputies of the local soviet in Irkutsk to the oblast Russian federal security directorate has been published today. The deputies are asking the directorate to respond immediately to a report from Rome on the arrest there of smugglers with Soviet nuclear materials. The report mentions Irkutsk, and the deputies are interested in whether there are any nuclear materials in the region and what measures have been taken to prevent their being taken abroad.

Majority of Balkars Vote for Soveriegnty

PM2001135792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

["Own information" report: "Balkars Want To Live in Their Own Home and in Russian Federation"]

[Text] The overwhelming majority of Balkars—94.8 percent of those who took part in the voting—expressed themselves in favor of proclaiming the national sovereignty of the Balkar people and the Republic of Balkaria as a subject forming the RSFSR.

Those are the results of a referendum held in the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic. Representatives of the republic's public and guests from Dagestan and Adygeya took part as observers. IZVESTIYA has been told from Nalchik that there were no violations of the law on the referendum.

Bashkir Fails To Sign Russian Economic Accord

LD2101085392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1331 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The chairman of Bashkortostan's Council of Ministers said on January 14 that an economic agreement with Russia had not been signed because of differences on matters of principle.

Marat Mirgazyamov, the chairman of Bashkortostan's Council of Ministers, told reporters that differences had arisen on two main issues.

The first one is that of property, on which the positions of Bashkortostan and Russia differ cardinally. Bashkortostan's Government insists that land, water, mineral deposits, the economic, scientific and technical potential in the republic's territory be regarded as the republic's property. The Russian leadership has the opposite attitude. Mirgazyamov spoke negatively of the Russian law on the property of the Russian Federation, and of the republics, regions, territories, and autonomous districts in the Russian Federation. He believes this law grossly flouts the rights of the republics within Russia.

The other matter of principle on which accord has not been achieved is that of drawing up a budget. The Russian authorities insist on a two-tier system of drawing up the budget of republics within the Russian Federation. The Bashkirian Government insists on single-tier system, that is that the republic's budget be formed by the republic itself and not by the Russian center.

Because of differences it was decided to refer these matters to the next session of Bashkirian parliament fixed for February 25. Deputies will either endorse the attitude of the Bashkirian Government on these matters or adopt a different decision.

Yamalo-Nenets Okrug Adopts Republic Status

PM2101085492 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Nikolay Dudnikov report: "Yet Another Republic...."]

[Text] Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug—Yes, this time it is the Yamalo-Nenets Republic, proclaimed by a session of the okrug soviet of deputies. Interestingly, this question was not on the agenda, because it had been discussed several times before. But the deputies came back to it and even opted for a two-chamber parliament.

Will the new status change life in this northerly region? Alas, the okrug's financial potential prompts doubt. Yet nearly 70 percent of Russia's gas is extracted in the Yamal peninsula.

Asygeya Republic Swears In New President

LD2001181592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Aslan Dzharimov was sworn in today as the first president of the Republic of Adygeya at the first congress of the peoples of this republic. Adygeya became a sovereign republic last July. Dzharimov, the first president of Adygeya, is 52 years old. He a candidate of economic sciences. He got almost 70 percent of votes during the elections.

Siberian Cossacks Discuss Creating Republic

LD2101093192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1818 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Siberian cossacks do not exclude the possibility of creation of a cossack republic in Siberia. According to Col. Aleksandr Zakharov, ataman (leader) of Novosibirsk cossack community named after Yermak Timofeyevich, on January 9-12, 1992 cossack atamans of Don, Kuban, Siberia and the Urals region have met in Moscow with Sergey Shakhray, state advisor of the Russian Federation, and Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Russian parliament's legislation committee. The meeting was held to create a commission to work out the law on rehabilitation of the cossacks and to determine the time limits for its adoption. According to Mr. Zakharov, the meeting's topic was the complex rehabilitation of the cossacks, including political and economic rehabilitation, i.e. giving the cossacks land rights and certain incentives for economic and entrepreneurial activity. According to Mr. Zakharov, the cossacks must not be late during the process of land privatization, since without land they will lose their ethnic distinctions. In his view, the cossacks should be regarded as an ethnic group this corresponds to the spirit and letter of the RSFSR law of April 26, 1991 on rehabilitation of repressed peoples, according to which the cossacks are one of the repressed peoples. That's why it is only natural that the cossacks living in areas where they constitute a majority, including some areas in Novosibirsk region, will claim the land for creation of cossack autonomies, and maybe even national-state structures.

According to Mr. Zakharov, creation of sovereign cossack structures in the region is possible in Tatarskiy and Vengerovskiy districts or in the health resort area of the Zavialovo settlement. Mr. Zakharov stated that during the talks disagreement over the creation of cossack republics on the Russian territory in places of cossack residence. Mr. Shakhray has been protesting this, since he maintained that the central government will lose the control over the economy, state governing bodies and the army on the territory of such republics. According to Mr. Zakharov, he managed to persuade Mr. Shakhray, a Tersk cossack by birth, that the cossacks, together with other repressed peoples, have a right to national and state self-determination, as stated in the law on rehabilitation.

Mr. Zakharov also stated that the Siberian cossacks will struggle for making legitimate their possession of weapons, since, he maintains, nobody has ever repealed a 1937 Russian parliamentary act stipulating that the ethnic groups, having daggers and other cold steel weapons as intrinsic elements of national dress, have the right for its legitimate wearing and possession. Since the cossacks are a people under the April 26, 1991 law, and a saber (and a dagger with Tersk and Kuban cossacks) is an element of their traditional dress, they have a right to wearing of those weapons. That's why if we start wearing sabers, and the events develop in this direction, the law-enforcing bodies would have no legal grounds for refusing us a permission to wear cold steel. According to Mr. Zakharov, on January 16 a lesser krug (council) of the Novosibirsk community named after Yermak Timofeyevich it is planned to inform members of the lesser krug, officers and cossacks, of the results of the Moscow visit and talks with leaders of the Russian Federation. It is also planned to discuss the problems of speedy reunification of Siberian cossacks and cossack organizations on the territory of western Siberia, creation of a political cossack organization and organizing commercial and economic activity.

About 200 persons living in Berdsk, Iskitim and Novosibirsk are members of the Novosibirsk community named after Yermak Timofeyevich. In 1917 there were 172,000 cossacks in Siberia. Presently the number of persons in Siberian cossack organizations is, according to Mr. Zakharov, kept secret, while the total number of cossacks and their descendants living in Siberia—representatives of all 13 cossack armies who were exiled, repressed, or migrated to Siberia—is presently 300,000-400,000 persons.

Ethnic Germans Criticize Yeltsin Statement

LD2001205292 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By correspondent Viktor Yelmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk January 19 TASS—A regional conference of the ethnic Germans' society "Rebirth" here today regarded Boris Yeltsin's recent statement made in Saratov region as unwillingness of the Russian leadership to tackle the problem of restoring German autonomy on the Volga. The conference described the statement as an "act aimed at discrediting the constitutional rights of ethnic Germans".

The conference adopted an address to the president and chancellor of Germany and members of the Bundestag. The message states that ethnic Germans in Russia "have two possibilities left: either voluntary assimilation or emigration to Germany".

Speakers at the conference, at which 368 delegates represented almost 60,000 ethnic Germans residing in the region, voiced a demand that an act of restoration of the German autonomy in the former boundaries be issued without delay.

All Hopes for German Autonomy 'Buried'

AU2101120492 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 20 Jan 92 p 135

[Unattributed interview with Gerhard Wolter, spokesman for the "Rebirth" society of ethnic Germans in Russia; place and date not given: "All Hopes Buried"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Do you still believe in autonomy for ethnic Germans in Russia?

[Wolter] Boris Yeltsin's declaration during his visit to the Volga, according to which autonomy was only possible in areas with an ethnic German population of 90 percent was extremely unwise. However, it was very spontaneous and therefore one should not overestimate it either. We will certainly continue to fight for justice and the restoration of our autonomy.

[DER SPIEGEL] What was the reaction of those Germans who are organized in your "Rebirth" movement to Yeltsin's announcement that they would be permitted to settle on a former military test site?

[Wolter] The offer is an insult, as is the underlying principle "take this land, we cannot use it any longer, anyway."

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you continue negotiations with the Russian leadership or is now the beginning of the great exodus—without looking back—of the remaining 2 million Germans from the former Soviet Union?

[Wolter] That exodus began two years ago. It is increasing as the chances for restoring autonomy dwindle. Yeltsin's recent statement will certainly soon be weakened, toned down, or even repudiated. Nevertheless, from the Russian Germans' viewpoint all their hopes have been buried. There is hardly any room left for negotiations with the Russian leadership.

[DER SPIEGEL] The federal government continues to point to the promises Yeltsin made in Bonn. Is it wise to do so or should it rather provide the financial aid that was earmarked for restoring the Volga Republic to the resettlers in the form of subsidies?

[Wolter] What was negotiated between Kohl and Yeltsin in Bonn was not made public here. I assume it was because Yeltsin made promises there he neither meant nor ever had any intention to keep. One day after his return a member of the Russian delegation said on television: "There will not be autonomy for the Germans."

[DER SPIEGEL] This does not exactly sound as if Yeltsin were very trustworthy?

[Wolter] The huge gap between what Yeltsin says and what he does might now have become obvious to everybody in Germany, and also that right now it would be pointless to provide money for investment in Russia only on the basis of hollow promises of autonomy.

Urals, Siberia, Far East Urged To Secede

LD2001205792 Moscow TASS in English 0703 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Novosibirsk January 20 TASS—The Siberian newspaper "EKONOMIKA I RESURSY" (ECONOMY AND RESOURCES) following other publications supported the idea of seceding the Urals, Siberia, the Russian Far East from the Russian Federation and form the north-Asian United States.

In the article "Siberia Against Moscow" the newspaper accused the Russian Government of using the region's natural resources, including oil, coal and timber, for its own political goals.

The newspaper said sovereign Tatarstan and Bashkortostan could serve as a natural border between central Russia and the north-Asian United States.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Reassures U.S. Senators on Arms

PM2201161192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Leonid Kravchuk Reassures U.S. Senators, but Disagreements in the Commonwealth of Independent States Continue To Frighten the World"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As is known, an agreement about dividing up control of the armed forces was reached between Russia and the Ukraine in the first half of January. It is logical to assume that the principles worked out between the sovereign republics should form the basis of the establishment of the Ukraine's own armed forces. But in that case how should we interpret the words of Major General G. Zhivitsa, first deputy chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces General Staff, when in an interview with the REUTER news agency the other day he said that "all ships on Ukrainian territory already belong to Ukraine, and Kiev now controls all subunits of the former Soviet Army on its territory, including tactical nuclear weapons?" We get the impression, REUTER comments on the general's statement, that G. Zhivitsa is placing a question mark over the agreement between Russia and Ukraine about dividing up the Armed Forces.

President Leonid Kravchuk was clearly trying to introduce much-needed clarity into the issue of the Ukraine's attitude on the establishment of its own army at a meeting held Monday in Kiev with a group of U.S. senators. The Ukrainian president stressed that the heads of the states of the former Soviet Union agreed with the Ukrainian position on forming its own navy based on the Black Sea Fleet. A commission has now been set up that will divide the fleet up into strategic and nonstrategic components, whereupon the part with conventional weapons will be handed over to the Ukraine. A decision has also been made to destroy tactical nuclear weapons by July this year and strategic nuclear weapons by 1994. If for any reason this cannot be achieved on time, these weapons will be stood down. Answering the senators' questions about verifying disarmament, Leonid Kravchuk said that this is being implemented both on the Ukrainian and the Russian side. The issue of international observers is also being raised.

According to Leonid Kravchuk, the Ukraine will not stray from the path it has chosen. It intends to be autonomous, democratic, and nonnuclear. At the same time, the Ukraine does not at present think of itself as having no ties with other states of the former Soviet Union, ties which it intends to develop on the basis of equal partnership and good relations.

Diplomat on Kiev Talks

OW2201171492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 22 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reginald Bartholomew, first deputy U.S. state secretary, appears to be pleased by the results of his Kiev negotiations, says a senior Ukrainian diplomat DP talked wth. The diplomat spoke at length on the agenda of the Kiev talks that highlighted the elaboration of acceptable mechanisms to put START and CFE treaties on track.

The Ukrainian diplomat remarked that under the Alma-Ata arrangements the four Soviet nuclear republics (Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus) had agreed to ratify the START treaty, but it is not yet clear which form the ratification would take. According to the diplomat, the Americans were particularly interested in that aspect. Discussion also covered technical problems in respect to the implementation of the START treaty in Ukraine. The diplomat emphasized that Ukraine had proclaimed its nuclear-free status and cannot be a START treaty signatory.

The conventional force situation is far simpler: Ukraine will accede to the treaty by ratifying it. He expressed the hope that the Commonwealth countries would discuss and agree on the distribution of conventional armaments among the former Soviet republics.

Bank Sets Dollar-Coupon Exchange Rate

LD2201154192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] The Ukraine National Bank has set an exchange rate for the dollar against the coupon of 1:10. It is still possible to pay in rubles for municipal and postal services, transportation, and public catering. This was reported today by RIKA-PRESS.

International Communication Channels To Expand

LD2101124292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1757 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] As became known from data obtained through informed sources, 30 channels of communication between Ukraine and North America will be introduced by the end of January in Ukraine. 30 more channels will be put in effect by the end of February, thus bringing Ukraine in communication with West European countries and Israel. According to evaluations produced by experts from Goskomsvyaz (State Committee of Communications), this will make it possible to increase power of the telephone line connecting Ukraine and foreign countries nearly 2-fold as compared with its capacity as of December, 1991.

In implementing the project of expanding telecommunication infrastructure, the framework of which will provide for establishment of additional channels of communication, active role will be played by the Ukrainian Goskomsvyaz and ATT and RTT telephone companies. In January the contract on putting into effect 60 channels of telephone communications was signed. The set up of a joint venture in the form of a limited joint stock corporation was announced. The contract provides for the arrangement under which 51 percent of shares in this newly created joint venture will belong to the Ukrainian party, that is, to Goskomsvyaz of Ukraine, 39 percent of shares will constitute property of ATT company and 10 percent will be owned by RTT telephone. According to data obtained from the same sources, ATT will deliver 13 digital telephone stations to Ukraine within the period of 2 years beginning from January 1992. The first such station is planned to be put together in Lvov in May 1992.

The plan of activity of the joint venture envisages increase of volume of the republican telephone network by 6 million lines, that is, if one bears in mind that nowadays, according to Goskomsvyaz, Ukraine disposes of 7 million telephone lines. Goskomsvyaz earmarks to increase power of telecommunication network up to 22 million lines by the year 2000 with assistance rendered to it by foreign partners.

National Affairs

30% of Tactical Nuclear Weapons Withdrawn

LD2201182892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zaika]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Jan (TASS)—The withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the Ukraine's territory is proceeding in an organized fashion, and so far the schedule for dispatch has been fulfilled by 30 percent. A procedure for implementing the program for destroying strategic nuclear weapons so that Ukraine is a nuclear-free power by 1994 is being devised.

This was announced today at a session of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet's Commission for Defense and National Security. The commission adopted a statement on the republic's military policy. It registers a vigorous protest against "the campaign launched by the former center aimed at distorting and falsifying Ukraine's policy on creating its own armed forces."

President Denies Republic To Leave CIS

OW2001222492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk denied RUMORS that Ukraine plans to leave the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] in the near future. "At the moment this is not the point", he stressed.

"We simply have a position of principle and believe that all that the Commonwealth leaders have agreed on in Minsk and Alma-Ata should be fully implemented," Kravchuk said.

Speaking about the Ukrainian armed forces issue, Kravchuk noted that positions of the Ukrainian government and people on this key issue coincide.

The Ukrainian leader added: "Sometimes the position of some political figures who cannot perceive calmly processes under way in Ukraine is simply unclear."

Fleet Problem Said 'Artifically Blown Up'

LD2201151292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovenko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] The knot of Black Sea problems has tightened even further these days. Today we present the views of Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, to whom Pavel Vitek asked the following question:

[Begin recording] [Vitek] Mr. Minister, the problems related to the division of Black Sea Fleet has generated many questions asked by the world press. Do you think that this problem is the last obstacle on the path of reorganization of the Soviet Army and its transformation on Ukrainian territory into a national army, or do you think that problems might also arise in the future?

[Morozov, in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] We do not expect this process to develop smoothly. Unfortunately, many problems exist now. I think that these will not be reduced in the near future either. However, I am highly confident that the Black Sea Fleet problem was artificially blown up, if you will pardon my putting it this way. In reality, only two working meetings were held. We explained to each other our mutual positions to each other at the first one. At the second one, the government delegations of the two sides adopted steps aimed at finding a compromise and a mutually acceptable solution. I also think that the artificial kindling of disagreements is not in the interests of the Ukraine, or Russia.

Then the world public began to express unnecessary anxieties. This problem is not complex. I do not think that the world should be concerned. To be honest, I think that some high-ranking representatives of the former

Union Ministry of Defense are simply worried about their posts. They are trying to emphasize, by all available means, the need to preserve the Black Sea Fleet in the name of some grand strategic tasks which it supposedly carries out in the Black and Meditterranean Seas. We wish to build our own naval forces as defensive ones. We wish to maintain neighborly relations with all states of the Black Sea region. [end recording]

Commission Considers Future of Military

LD2301061592 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Statement by Vasyl Vasylevich Durdenets on the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Defense and State Security in Kiev on 22 January—recorded]

[Text] Today at the expanded session of the commission, a number of topical questions dealing with the building of a Ukrainian Army were discussed. In particular, reports by Colonel General Morozov, the Ukrainian minister of defense; General Kukharets, commander of the National Guard; and Gen. Babanskyy, deputy commander of the border troops, was heard and the statement by the commission on Ukrainian military policy was adopted. The draft laws on general military duty and military service, on pension provision of servicemen and employees of the bodies of the interior affairs, on efficient [operatyvnyy] search activity were also discussed, [word indistinct] that question was considered together with the standing commissions on questions of law and order and fighting crime, human rights.

Also considered were a number of other questions that fall within the sphere of activities of the commission. I inform radio listeners of all this in such detail because from time to time there appear accusations of the absence of a legal basis for building Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations envisaged by the effective legislation of the Ukraine. That was why we adopted a statement on this question at the commission session in order to make it clear.

It would probably be (?expedient) to present the contents of that statement concerning the military policy of Ukraine. The aspiration of the independent Ukraine to have its own armed forces as an indispensable attribute of statehood furthermore is met by a passionate opposition by the former center and its mass media—press, radio, and television—in which tension is being created artificially and with far-reaching intentions, incorrect statements are being made by certain politicians and leaders of the former Union Defense Ministry.

It is embodied in twisted facts, cheap political speculation, inventions, and extremely preconceived appraisals of events. [word indistinct] all this is happening according to the scenario that is very familiar from previous years. In this connection, the commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on the questions of defense and state security considers it its direct obligation to state the following:

Frankly, those statements are which were voiced by certain formerly central newspapers, in programs of the central radio and television, and during the All-Army officers' assemblies about Ukraine allegedly creating its own armed forces in an uncivilized manner, seizing troops by way of an accomplished fact, forcibly making servicemen take the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine, and so on.

[Word indistinct] people's deputies of Ukraine, members of the Supreme Soviet commission on the questions of defense and state security who take part in working out the legal basis for creating the Armed Forces of Ukraine have to remind those who create tension that these grains of discord are unconsidered and that the Ukrainian State has been working quite sensibly, soberly, consistently, and without any haste already for a year now on preparing a reliable legal basis for building Armed Forces of Ukraine, border troops, a National Guard, and other military formations.

The realistic results of this legislative work were the adoption by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet of a whole package of laws and other acts concerning the problems of the military sphere which were, apart from everything else, published in the press. The second package of legislative acts is prepared for consideration in the parliament. But we resolutely discard groundless reproaches of all kinds about the absence of a legal basis and accusations of the uncivilized character of the path that has been taken. It can only be stated by unobjective people, those who do not know and do not want to see the real situation in the Ukraine. Prevailing inventions about haste, the forcible administering of the military oath, and the absence of a legislative mechanism for that do not correspond to reality.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet made the decision on subordination of all military formations deployed on the territory of Ukraine to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and on creating a Ukrainian Ministry of Defense as far back as 24 August of last year. On 6 December of last year, the parliament confirmed the text of the military oath and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium confirmed the temporary regulations on taking the oath. The taking of the oath itself, designed not for one day but for the whole period of time, began only in January of the new year on an entirely voluntary basis. Over 270,000 servicemen have already sworn allegiance to the people of Ukraine. Their numbers grows every day. We will remind you, that it was agreed at the meetings of the leaders of the member states of the Commonwealth that the independent states have the right to create their own armed forces and that Ukraine was starting it on 3 January of this year.

But when the work, directly conditioned, began, there unfolded an (?ambitious) controversy around the Black

Sea Fleet. All-Army officers' assemblies were convened heatedly, the idea of preserving the unified Armed Forces under the single control of a nonexistent state and the single defense space is imposed, we are called on not to break the existing military structures.

We declare with total responsibility that attempts to play the Army card will bring no good. The Ukraine is and will be an independent state. It will (?implement) its statehood stage by stage. It has its own border troops and a National Guard. It is building persistently and weightedly its own Armed Forces, the process of the practical creation of which has assumed a gradual and irreversible character.

The Ukrainian state, as it was legislatively consolidated and confirmed in the recent address by the president of Ukraine to servicemen, will ensure in every possible way social rights and protection of servicemen and members of their families. (?We believe) it our deputy's duty to refute the stream of misinformation from some mass media. We call [word indistinct] on those involved in the questions of the military sphere [word indistinct] to use as a base the concrete legislative acts of the Ukraine, to consider thoroughly each word and each step, to treat with due respect the cares of the sovereign Ukraine and its people, and to prevent the worsening of interstate relations between the independent countries.

Today, nobody needs either the situation becoming more complicated, the dictating of conditions for solving the existing problems, or tactless statements. There are civilized forms of solving matters: meetings by leaders of states, preparing and signing interstate agreements, negotiations of state delegations, and others—to which Ukraine aspires today. Statements and uproar, as life proves, are out of place here. It only brings concern and anxiety into ranks of servicemen, hurts the honor and dignity of people which is extremely unacceptible in the current complicated and responsible time.

The Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine addresses the officers and all personnel of the military formations deployed on the territory of the Ukraine with an appeal, in this complicated time, not to give in to various provocative statements, to ensure peaceful life for people in the Ukraine, to stay calm, to adhere to the procedure laid down by the rules and army discipline, to carry out military service honestly and conscientiously. Making this statement, we express hope that it will be met both in the Ukraine and outside its borders with due understanding.

Defense Official on Armed Forces, Assembly

LD2101230392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2017 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Kiev, 21 January [UKRINFORM-TASS]—The process of setting up the independent Ukraine's own armed forces has acquired an irreversible nature, Lieutenant General Vasiliy Durdinets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Commission on Matters of Defense and State Security, told a UKRINFORM correspondent in an interview. The armed forces are being set up on the basis of the Kiev, Odessa, and Carpathian Military Districts, part of the forces of the Black Sea Fleet and other troop formations deployed in the territory of the Ukraine, apart from the troops which will by agreement form part of the strategic forces.

The oath of loyalty to the people of the Ukraine is at present being taken everywhere among the troops, the general reported. Around 240,000 servicemen took it in the first two weeks. There are also certain problems, which relate first and foremost to the fact that many servicemen are hitherto insufficiently acquainted with the legislative acts of Ukraine on military matters.

Vasiliy Durdinets expressed certainty that this situation will change shortly. Thus, he commented that draft laws have already been published in the republican press "on universal conscription and military service" and on "pension provision of servicemen and internal affairs officials of Ukraine," which will be considered at the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Touching on the all-army officers' assembly held in Moscow, the Lieutenant General said: "They are appealing to us for yet another transition period, a single defense area. They are also proposing that we have united armed forces with a unified command, the text of a single oath for the troops of the Commonwealth, and much else from what we know of old, but phrased in a new setting."

Through argumentation and in a balanced manner, the Supreme Soviet and the president of Ukraine have laid down the Ukraine's position on matters of military organization and will unwaveringly adhere to it, the military commander noted. We reject accusations that we lack a sufficient legal basis for military organization, and also any attempts to whip up tension around Ukraine with regard to creating our own armed forces, border guards and national guard, formed to defend our sovereignty. This is interference in the affairs of an independent state, Vasiliy Durdinets stressed.

Army Leader Interviewed on Military Control

LD1701215792 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] All the ships on Ukrainian territory already belong to the Ukraine. I regard the entire Black Sea Fleet as a part of the Armed Forces of the Ukraine, stated Major General Georgiy Zhivitsa, first deputy head of the General Staff of the Ukrainian Army, in an interview with REUTERS News Agency. He also stressed that Kiev now controls all subunits of the former Soviet army on its territory, including tactical nuclear weapons. All the soldiers who are serving on the territory of Ukraine are subordinate to the president of Ukraine and receive their wages from Ukraine, stressed the general.

According to Zhivitsa, Ukraine has already dismantled the central communications channels with Moscow. This means Commonwealth Armed Forces chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov cannot control servicemen in the territory of the Ukraine. Only the strategic nuclear forces remain under the joint central command of the Commonwealth. The tactical nuclear weapons will be totally withdrawn from the territory of the Ukraine in the first half of this year. They will be gone by 1 July. These weapons are under the control of the Ministry of Defense, under our control, stated the general. The system has already been rebuilt. It is not linked to Moscow any more. Control over all the armed forces except the strategic nuclear forces is exercised by the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and the president of the Ukraine.

Protesters Demand Military Leaders Resign

PM2001151592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Opinion of the People's Council: Commanders Should Resign"]

[Text] Kiev—On the initiative of Rukh, picketers have been outside Kiev Military District Headquarters for the second day. A small group of demonstrators unfurled placards whose contents require no commentary: "Chechevatov Forbids the Taking of Oaths of Allegiance," "Whoever Does Not Take the Oath Is An Occupier"...

Meanwhile the People's Council has demanded that republic President L. Kravchuk take decisive measures to step up the formation of the republic's Armed Forces. A special statement on this subject, which Deputy N. Porovskiy made public on Ukrainian Radio, says that certain forces are trying to implement plans to revive the Russian Empire under the acronym CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Only if the Armed Forces are entirely subordinate to the Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian president can the state guarantee social and legal protection, the provision of housing, and the appropriate pay for servicemen and their families.

Representatives of the People's Council have demanded the resignations of Admiral I. Kasatonov, Colonel General V. Chechevatov, and Colonel General I. Morozov. The pickets, as follows from their statement, will continue their action until their demands are met.

Kiev Military District Officers Take Oath

LD1801151892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The swearing in of officers at the headquarters and in the administration of the Kiev Military District took place today in the assembly hall of the headquarters of the Kiev Military District. The oath of allegiance to the people of the Ukraine was taken by 99.4 percent of all the generals, officers, warrant officers, and long-term servicemen.

Colonel General Viktor Chechevatov, commander of the district's troops, did not take part in the ceremony. The aircraft carrying those who attended the all-Army assembly at which he was present was delayed at a Moscow airfield by bad weather.

Administering of Oath Continues

LD2201034792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Already half of the military servicemen in the Ukraine have taken the new oath. Commenting on the recent officers' meeting in Moscow, General Durdinets, leader of the parliamentary Defense Committee, said: We are being called to yet another period of transition—a unified defense space. It is also being proposed that we have a single army, a single oath, and many other things from the old days, only dressed up in new words.

Meanwhile, the process goes on and, apparently, without any fighting.

[Correspondent P. Savchak] Generals and officers of the staff of the Transcarpathian Military District, possibly one of the biggest of the former Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, took the oath of loyalty to the people of the Ukraine. The first to swear the oath of loyalty to the Ukraine was Lieuteneant General Gennadiy Gurin, chief of staff of the district. Following him were other generals and officers of the administration and services of the headquarters. Colonel General Sokol, commander in chief of the troops of the district, did not take part in the oath.

Russian Officers Demand Return to Russia

LD2001220192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] A group of officers of the Russian origin who serve now in the Ukrainian city of Kherson have set up a so-called committee for military democracy. They have prepared an open letter to Konstantyn Morozov, minister of defense of Ukraine, where they refuse to serve the independent Ukrainian state because, as they say in the letter, they had already sworn to serve all the Soviet people. The officers demand to replace them to the garrisons located in the Russian Federation.

Carpathian Officers Meet Local Leaders

LD1901034892 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of the new regional soviet of people's deputies with the commanding officers of the Carpathian Military District took place.

Speaking at the meeting, [the] chairman of the regional soviet, People's Deputy of Ukraine Vyacheslav Chornovil, pointed out that at present all the efforts of the bodies of local power are targeted at a real social protection of the military men and at creation of Ukraine's own army.

Officials Said To Ignore Troops 'Real Needs'

LD2001191292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The position of Odessa Military District servicemen and their families has deteriorated sharply this month. Colonel Ruslan Kim, a participant in the all-Army officers conference, told a TASS correspondent that, for example, one-half of district officers and warrant officers lack housing and that 2,500 families of servicemen are living in private homes, in temporary quarters, and even in sheds. Such accommodation swallows up the lion's share of an officer's salary. One-third of Army wives cannot find jobs, Kim noted. Asked by the TASS correspondent why the local authorities were so inattentive to the needs of servicemen, the officer said that MPs and heads of government in the Ukraine and Moldova, where they are stationed, are more preoccupied with the establishment of their own defense ministries and armed forces. They've got no time for the real needs of servicemen, he said.

President-in-Exile Arrives for Congress

LD2101204692 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] (Mykola Spavdyuk), president of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, arrived in Kiev today. He has been invited by the leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Ukraine Society to take part in the All-Ukrainian Congress, which opens in Kiev on 22 January. [Words indistinct] of our compatriots abroad have placed a lot of hope on this mission by (Mykola Spavdyuk). They believe it will be very important for him, in the capital of independent Ukraine, to announce the end of the emigrant state center, on its behalf. This will bring an end to the dispersion of the political representation of the Ukraine and signal that a single competent representative of its government exists in the form of the national cabinet of ministers of the (?Ukraine).

Mines Experience Supply Problems, Layoffs

Dzerzhinsk Miners Lose Jobs

LD1701201192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1640 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Report by reporter G. Kondaurov from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] In Dzerzhinsk 18,000 miners have lost their jobs and wages. In January the supply of mining timber to the Donbass from Russian timber enterprises has considerably fallen.

In Donbass people are now forced to cut down trees growing by the side of the roads in order to supply miners with timber. The sharp fall in the extraction of coal, as experts believe, will lead to stoppages in the functioning of blast furnaces and rolling mills. Then tens of thousands of consumers of Ukrainian metal in Russia and other states will lose their jobs.

Donbass Production Reduced

LD2101051692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Despite support timbers being sent, 26 Donbass mines started mothballing production today. There is shortage of timber.

[Correspondent G. Kondaurov] The protocol on the agreed measures for preserving traditional economic ties in the first quarter of 1992 signed by heads of Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] members is not being carried out. Deliveries of mining timbers from Russia to Donbass dropped sharply from 1 January. The promised oil, gasoline, and many other items are not being delivered, either. If no urgent measures are taken, the failure to carry out the mutual deliveries between the states, agreed upon by the governments, can turn into an economic war which will make the existence of the CIS impossible.

Kravchuk Meets With Miners

LD2101104292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] An alarming situation has come about at Ukrainian mines. Many coal industry enterprises, primarily those of the Central Donbass, are on the brink of closure. The problems which emerged in connection with this were discussed at a meeting between miners and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, which took place in Kiev yesterday.

The Ukrainian leaders answered questions as to how the situation in the industry could be improved in the near future and stressed that the government is searching for ways out of the crisis. It was also noted that issues of supplies, and in particular supplies of timber, were specified in documents signed between Russia and Ukraine. It was envisaged that the Russian Federation timber plantations were to supply 8.5 million cubic meters of timber to Ukraine, but so far this agreement had not been implemented.

Vitold Fokin assured miners that a breakthrough was achieved in the supplies issue. A telegram was dispatched to all timber farms of the oblasts and regions of the Russian Federation saying that supplies of timber and paper products were not liable to penalties in the first quarter of the year.

Railroad Forces To Swear Allegiance Oath

LD2101122792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1757 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] According to well informed sources, headquarters of railroad forces of former USSR Defense Ministry and Kiev railroad corps agree to exchange officers from railroad troops

The exchange is planned to be carried on according to one for one principle. Officers of railroad troops reluctant to swear allegiance to Ukraine will be transferred to continue their service on territories of other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member-states. Vacancies in Ukraine thus made available will be filled by those who are currently in service on the territory of other CIS member-states but who will swear in to Ukraine. According to hearsay spread in railroad forces on the territory of Russia, officers of the Ukrainian Army will receive their salaries in US dollars. In this manner, a colonel of the Ukrainian Army, for example, will be entitled to 300 dollars, a captain—to 60 US dollars. Some officers believe that be it the case there will be no lack of people willing to be employed in Ukraine.

Cabinet Meets on Krasnoyarsk Refusal of Waste

LD2101101292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2148 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] According to some data, a treaty purposed to eliminate the negative effect of Krasnoyarsk authorities' decision on ex-USSR united energy system is being drafted in Kiev.

The need in this treaty between the Ukrainian Government and the Russian Ministry of Nuclear Power emerged after the Krasnoyarsk area council refused to accept discharged nuclear fuel from Ukrainian nuclear power plants for disposal starting from January 15 under a pretext of insufficient foodstuffs supply from the Ukraine to the Krasnoyarsk area.

According to experts of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, the claims of Krasnoyarsk authorities do not have adequate justification because the Ukraine fully effects all food deliveries to Russia according to the earlier signed contracts, while no direct agreements have been concluded with the Krasnoyarsk area. At the same time experts of the Ukrainian Government believe that the system of nuclear power production formed by a united state with production assets worth several billion roubles and distinct distribution of functions between the former republics will not be able to operate normally if the action of Krasnoyarsk authorities brings to a halt Ukrainian nuclear power plants. According to some sources, experts of the presently Russian Ministry of Nuclear Power share this opinion.

In his January 15 interview with the VECHERNIY KIEV daily Victor Gladush, Ukrainian minister of industry and transport, in particular, said: The ultimatum of Krasnoyarsk is as equally painful for Russian and Ukrainian power production industries.

Time Change Disrupts Republic's Transportation

LD2201023992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The decision to introduce statutory time at 0000 on 19 January in Russia adopted by the Supreme Soviet has apparently caused disruption in Ukrainian transportation. In a television interview President Leonid Kravchuk said that this measure should have been agreed with the leadership of Ukraine. A TASS correspondent asked Dmitriy Sayenko, chief secretary for the State Commission for Unified Time and Standard Frequencies, to comment on the situation that has developed. All the former Union republics, the Ukraine too, were notified in advance. For example, Belarus has not gone over to statutory time but no problem has arisen there. We should recall that in summer 1990 the Ukraine, then still a Union republic, marked statutory time without having agreed on this with the RSFSR. This decision was duly received and no complaints were made. Incidentally, Russia did not agree its decision with the European states but no complications arose as a result of this in respect of the arrival of trains and aircraft, said Dmitriy Sayenko in conclusion.

Cabinet Decides on Stabilizing Economic Ties

LD2201013392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decision on the stabilization of economic ties. In order not to permit production grinding to a halt and in order to ensure fulfillment of intergovernmental agreements on trade and economic cooperation between enterprises, associations, and organizations of the Ukraine, they must maintain in the first quarter of this year stable ties—deliveries of raw and other materials and also of finished output at a level of no less than 70 percent—with their related enterprises in Ukraine and in the member states of the Commonwealth.

Trade Unions Report Cost of Living Increase

LD2101090192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1331 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] According to preliminary estimates of experts of the Council of the Ukrainian Federation of Independent Trade Unions the minimum cost of living in Ukraine will rise to 2,400 roubles per month in January.

1,200 roubles out of the sum is the cost of food. So, the officially established 400 rouble minimal wage makes up only one sixth of the real minimum cost of living. Grigoriy Osovy, head of the group of consultants of the council, said the fact that the minimum living costs surpass the minimum wage and that prices of necessities were raised without consulting the Ukrainian parliament ran counter to a number of provisions of Ukrainian legislation. In this connection, the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions lodged a protest with the Ukrainian Government and parliament. Osovy said that trade unions worked out a number of provisions to ease somewhat the position of the poor. They include the sale of some food products on ration cards at fixed prices (subsidizing the consumer), the fixing of minimum wage in accordance with the existing legislation, and urgent introduction of the state program of the relief for the poor envisaging free issuing of food and clothing. The trade unions had not received an answer from the government so far. Meanwhile, regional trade union council already receive reports about deaths of elderly from malnutrition, Osovy said.

The official subsistence level was 256 roubles in October 1991.

President Creates Ukrainian Export-Import Bank

AU1701144492 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 2 (48), Jan 92 p 2

[Text] In accordance with a Ukrainian presidential decree, the State Export-Import Bank of the Ukraine has been created. It has incorporated structural subdivisions of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank [Vneshekonombank] that are situated on the territory of the Ukraine.

Entrepreneurs Union Formed in Kharkov 17 Jan

LD1901064692 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Leonid Zamyatin for TASS]

[Text] Kharkov January 17 TASS—Ukrainian entrepreneurs formed their union at the constituent conference of business people of the republic held here.

According to the constitution of the union, the new public organization will unite the most active part of newborn Ukranian business. It will fight for creation of the most favourable conditions for investment of national, as well as foreign capital, for stabilisation of the economic state in the republic, for change of legislation, which should defend rights of business people and not strengthen superiority of state over its people.

Activities of the union will be based on the principle of "priority to human values over political, ideological and national values, personal rights over rights of society and social rights over rights of the state".

Kharkov has been chosen as the centre of the Ukrainian entrepreneurs union.

Representatives Demand Cabinet's Resignation

OW1901183292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 17, representatives of regional and city governments gathered for a conference in the Ukrainian parliament to demand immediate resignation of the Ukrainian Cabinet for its "inactivity and incompetence", as well as the formation of a new government trusted by the people.

The conference concentrated on the situation following the recent price rise. The speakers noted that the price rise delivered a heavy blow on the people and said that initially the Cabinet should have demineralized and privatized industrial enterprises, land and housing, amended the law on property and land, and reviewed the taxing policy.

Chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, Mr. Ivan Plushch, accepted the criticism, but argued that the current Cabinet "should be given time to work", although, he said, deep reshuffling was needed right now.

Solidarity Union Wants Government To Resign

LD1901013692 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] At its sitting, the coordinating council of the All-Ukrainian Union of the Working People's Solidarity put forward a demand that the Ukraine's Government should resign. In this connection they plan to picket the building of the parliament on 28th January when the Supreme Soviet will resume its work at the plenary session.

In case the current Cabinet of Ministers does not resign, the All-Ukrainian Union of the Working People's Solidarity is going to start a [word indistinct] strike. The second demand of the Coordinating Council is the immediate introduction of the Ukrainian monetary unit beginning April this year.

Rukh Proclaims Future Political Principles

AU2101105392 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 1 (30), Jan 92 p 2

["Statement by the Political Council of the Ukrainian People's Rukh [Movement for Perestroyka]: 'On the Future of Rukh and Its Tasks at the Stage of Establishing

Ukrainian State Independence and Constructing a Democratic Civil Society'"; place and date not given]

[Text] The proclamation on 24 August 1991 of Ukrainian state independence and the victory, at the all-Ukrainian referendum, of those forces that advocate the full-state independence of the Ukraine have marked the end of the opposition struggle for freedom and democracy waged by our people. The idea of state independence of the people of the Ukraine on the land that has always been theirs—an idea that, until recently, was punishable by death; an idea for which people were left to rot for life in prisons and camps and that was, until recently, considered to be a crime against the regime—has broken through the thick foundations of the totalitarian communist system and has been taken up by the broadest strata of the people. This idea, alongside the blue-and-yellow flag in the chapped hands of the Donets miner and the Galician villager, has been brought into the highest assembly—the Ukrainian Supreme Council. A paradoxical situation has emerged: Yesterday's opponents and even enemies of state independence have become its active advocates and defenders. A new political reality has taken shape requiring that all political parties, public organizations, political leaders, and statesmen reconsider their role and place in society as well as their strategy and tactic of future struggle for the establishment of Ukrainian state independence.

It is the Ukrainian People's Rukh [UPR] that needs, first of all, such reappraisal. It was created as a form of "a joining of efforts by all patriotic forces of the Ukraine that were aware of the historical responsibility of all the forces of the Ukraine, irrespective of their place of residence, national or religious denomination, party membership, social status, cultural or educational level, sex, or age" (URP Program. Introduction).

The principal questions that arise on the eve of Rukh's Third all-Ukrainian Conference are those of its role and place in the further sociopolitical process and the attitude toward the official organs of state power!

Today there exist two points of view of this problem among Rukh activists. First, Rukh must continue to be a union of all sociopolitical forces that support the idea of establishing Ukrainian state independence and constructing a democratic civil society. Second, Rukh has exhausted itself as a form of union, has become a separate political force, and must transform into a political organization—a party of parliamentarian type similar to American parties.

The Political Council of the UPR represented by leaders of democratic political parties and public organizations that are members of Rukh, by influential political and public figures, and by those who were among the organizers and founders of Rukh discussed the above issues at its meeting and makes the following statement.

1. Following the cessation, at an official level, of the activity of the CPSU structures, the sociopolitical life in the Ukraine still remains in the stage of making. Its distinctive characteristic is the disorientation of the overwhelming majority of citizens with regard to political parties and public organizations. This has been clearly attested to by the results of recent presidential elections.

2. The pro-imperial structures of the CPSU, having lost their ideological influence upon society, continue to be the basis of the state economic mechanism that enables them to exercise full control over the economic and, consequently, also political life.

3. The newly created political parties and public organizations continue to be organizationally and materially weak and largely dissociated in their actions. This is primarily due to the fact that the CPSU and its subordinate structures of the KGB, procuracy, and courts directed their activity against democratic forces.

It would suffice to consider one analytical report written by the KGB chief [Mykola] Holushko [former acting chairman of the National Security Service of the Ukraine] to [Stanislav Ivanovych] Hurenko [former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party] on 28 December 1990 and published by the newspaper RATUSHA No. 108 on 11-12 October 1991 in order to realize that the entire subversive activity proceeded in conformity with the ready plan implemented via numerous agents that had been planted in public organizations. This abominable structure that, to this day, has not been dismantled may become an effective weapon in the hands of great power chauvinism.

Under such conditions, a consolidation of all political forces around the idea of establishing Ukrainian state independence is even more topical than before.

To this day, the UPR remains the only force that, despite the insidious subversive activity aimed at dividing the political forces, has always been able to find new forms and methods for uniting the efforts of all the presently active organizations in order to conduct mass measures, acts of protest, and other joint actions.

The fact that the UPR, overcoming interparty differences, managed to unite the creative and material potential of the patriots in the Diaspora and direct it toward contributing to the establishment of Ukrainian independence is an important factor.

At this time that is critical and decisive for the Ukraine, the transformation of Rukh into a political party, no matter how attractive it might be, would, in our opinion, be a fatal historical mistake.

We believe that, today, real preconditions have been created for a true consolidation of all political forces within the People's Rukh in their struggle for a common great goal—the establishment of Ukrainian state independence and the creation of a democratic society.

Today real preconditions have taken shape to win over to the side of Rukh the most broad strata of society liberated from the pressure and influence of communist propaganda.

The ideology of national revival of all the nations and ethnic groups that constitute the people of the Ukraine, civil patriotism, and Christian morality must continue to be the ideological foundation of our open national organization.

4. The political Council of Rukh believes that all healthy forces of our society must seek consolidation through Rukh, while being united by the idea of state independence.

Working toward implementing this idea, these forces must help the president fulfill his program the main principles of which coincide with those expounded in the political statements of democratic organizations and must not allow him to abandon, under the pressure of forces that are hostile to the Ukrainian state, the principles that he has proclaimed.

We call upon all public organizations and political parties and upon all political leaders and influential public and state figures to take part in a nationwide discussion on the eve of the Third all-Ukrainian Conference of the UPR, in order to jointly elaborate new forms, the strategy, and tactic of our common state-building work.

Kravchuk Tells Journalists of Support for Press

LD2101100192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0430 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Ukraine, gave assurances to the delegates of the extraordinary congress of journalists of Ukraine that everything possible will be done to support the Ukrainian press. It is a matter of finding possibilities for making use of the resources to subsidize the press which have been earned by journalists over many years.

A national strike committee of journalists was also set up at the congress.

Newspaper Editor Appeals for Paper Supplies

LD2001114492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Editors of a number of leading Ukrainian publications have decided to address Ukraine's president, Leonid Kravchuk, with a request for help in this difficult period of time. As is known, due to a shortage and ever-growing prices for the paper, quite a few newspapers and magazines in our republic are now facing bankruptcy. A proof of that is an interview taken by phone with the editor of the newspaper MOLOD UKRAINIY, Volodymyr Vorenchuk.

In fact, many newspapers are not coming out of the press, says Volodymyr Vorenchuk, thus our newspaper, MOLOD UKRAINIY, has been released only once since 1 January. The same position is with the newspaper SELSKIYE VESTI, the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINIY has very small circulation number in Kiev region. The same goes for the DEMOKRATICHNAYA UKRAINIYA newspaper.

We have found out that our constant suppliers, that is paper manufacturing combines in the territory of the Russian Federation, do not even plan to deliver paper to Ukraine. So we want to address Ukraine's president with a request to take urgent measures so that our subscribers might receive our newspaper, MOLOD UKRAINIY, and other newspapers they have subscribed to, in due time said Volodymyr Vorenchuk.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Criticizes Regulations

LD2001162692 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Volodymyr Borysovych Hrynyov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, held a news conference yesterday. Correspondent Vasyl Bury has more:

[Begin recording] [Bury] Volodymyr Borysovych Hrynyov told reporters about the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which worked all day yesterday to discuss important questions such as the future of the consultative council, which was set up by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and which is composed of economists, lawyers, and experts from Ukraine and many other countries. The presidium discussed whether it is time to subordinate this council to the president. It was decided that the president will have advisors but the Consultative Council will work as before at the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Also considered were questions of adopting laws on privatization and denationalization.

The head of the consultative commission created at the Supreme Soviet session reported to the Presidium. The Supreme Soviet commissions will start work on 21 January to discuss draft laws. From 28 January these laws will be submitted to the plenary session.

Volodymyr Borysovych Hrynyov focused on two positions at the presidium meeting.

[Hrynyov] A very important question on taxes came up at the meeting. Because the taxation system is not very good here and not very good in Russia, and today we see that attempts to create a no-deficit budget are connected with this system, there is a negative side to these attempts. They somehow hinder production. There were several very important questions concerning the situation with laws having been changed. As you know, the laws were signed by the president today. We considered the latest legislative acts adopted in the course of the last month and analyzed those laws to see whether they corresponded to some legal regulations. We discovered many unexpected things. We decided to send some laws for a third reading, because some positions in the laws do not correspond to other laws which are, I think, legal nonsense. We did not vote very attentively at the Supreme Soviet session. The president today has the right to reverse those laws if he wants. Not waiting for the president, we will correct these laws ourselves.

[Bury] Hrynyov answered numerous questions from journalists. Speaking on price liberalization, the Supreme Soviet deputy appraised it not as liberalization but as an ordinary price rise even worse than before because it is followed by ruining the market. The coupons issued to everyone also do not stimulate work. Hrynyov reminded that the Supreme Soviet will hear the government position on the economic reforms carried out in the first 10 days of February.

As for the government, Hrynyov does not believe that the government is capable of implementing economic reforms, but thinks that there are people in the government who can do that. The deputy believes that you do not change horses in midstream is a philosophy that is out of date. Reformation and a possibly change of government are needed. Hrynyov is convinced that no government will outlive the reforms because the economy is in such a critical state that in order to get out of it, it is necessary to use very unpopular means. The people's mood is such that there is not enough patience.

Hrynyov also answered other questions. [end recording]

Lvov Oblast Stops Broadcasting Moscow Programs

LD2001163492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The transmission of programs from Mayak radio station, Radio Rossii, and the former all-Union first radio channel was stopped today in Lvov Oblast. Vadim Palkin, chief of the oblast radio and television transmitting center, explains this by the fact that tariffs on electricity have increased by nine times compared to last year. At this price for power, the losses of the transmitting center could amount to more than 20 million rubles. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and State Committee for Communications know about these problems, but while they are being resolved, the inhabitants of Lvov will not hear the signals of popular radio stations.

Socialist Party Conference Opens in Lvov

LD2101034792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The founding conference of the Lvov organization of the Ukrainian Socialist Party. As was stated as long ago as November 1991, when this party was created: It has set itself the goal of cleaning the ideas and slogans of scientific socialism from the partocratic dirt of the CPSU and defend the interests of those who work honestly. A town committee of the Socialist Party was elected at the conference. Nothing definite can yet be said about the numbers and degree of influence of the new party. I will just add that only one of the previously high-ranking functionaries of the Lvov Oblast organization of the Ukrainian Communist Party—the successor of which the Socialist Party does not consider itself—was present at this conference.

Marine Fleet Administration Created

AU1901161792 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 2 (48), Jan 92 p 2

[Text] In accordance with the resolution passed by the Cabinet of Ministers, the State Administration of the Ukrainian Marine Fleet (Ukrmorflot) has been created. Steamship lines, ports, plants, and other enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated in the territory of the Ukraine that were previously subordinated to the USSR Ministry of the Marine Fleet will be transferred to its subordination.

Ukrmorflot is headed by the president. The president and vice presidents are appointed by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.

The administration headquarters of Ukrmorflot will be stationed in Odessa.

Odessa Steamship Company Plans Israeli Route

OW2001211992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1844 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Black Sea Steamship Company and the Israeli firm Incoprom plan to open regular passenger lines between Odessa and Haifa (Israel) in February. Two round trips are planned per month. The ships will be able to hold up to 800 passengers. Incoprom is drawing up the documents.

Belarus

UDPB Calls For Institution of Presidency

LD2201032792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk, 21 Jan (TASS)—The council of the United Democratic Party of Belarus [UDPB] today called for the institution of a presidency in the republic.

The party leaders consider that the need for such an institution has been brought about by a crisis of power: the current Supreme Soviet and government are not in a position to lead Belarus out of the difficult situation. A new body of deputies is needed, which will reflect the real arrangement of political forces in society. However, because of social apathy and the weariness of the population there can be no question of the immediate resignation of the parliament and the holding of new elections. This might create a dangerous political power vacuum. Therefore a way out of the current situation, the leaders of the democrats believe, could be the institution of presidential power.

Incidentally, provision for the possible introduction of the post of president was made in the draft of the new constitution for the Republic of Belarus, which was submitted for nationwide discussion in December 1991. However, the UDPB council believes that it is necessary to institute a presidency as a matter of urgency.

Coupons Reportedly Counterfeited by 'Mafiosi'

PM2201153592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by A. Guretskiy and A. Sinegubov from Belarus]

[Text] [Guretskiy] The Belarus authorities were probably aware, deep down, that coupons were not a panacea and would not automatically guarantee the availability of essential goods. However, in introducing them as a backup to the ruble, they were still hoping to curb the tyranny of state trade and ensure that there were goods on store shelves.

However, the period of a relatively fair trading system, though not one with abundant goods, was short-lived. Local mafiosi, with the help of their partners on the other side of the Bug River, mastered the simple secrets of the Ministry of Finance bill with relative ease. Especially as it was printed on ordinary paper and on primitive printing presses. And now a second front has opened up—black-market speculation in coupons. Although, generally speaking, printing counterfeit coupons is a punishable offense, it is a lucrative business by today's standards. It does not make sense—the waiting lines are getting longer and there are fewer and fewer goods.

Chaus on Need To Recall Troops From Baltics

LD2301120592 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Belarussian Defense Minister Petr Chaus, speaking at a session of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, said that the recall of Belarussian soldiers from the Baltic states is a matter of honor for the Belarussian parliament. He also stated to the deputies that it is necessary to recall the 2,000 Belarussian ensigns and officers in the Baltics (?alone) as soon as possible because they do not have an especially good situation in the Baltics. This is in connection with the common mood against the army of an alien country being located on this territory.

Construction Workers Lobby Over Materials

PM2201143392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by A. Zhuk and V. Pronko from Belarus]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received a report from Belarus. Republic leader Stanislav Shushkevich is visiting areas striken by radiation.

[Zhuk] Naturally, Chernobyl-related problems were top of the agenda during Stanislav Stanislavovich's meetings. Mogilev and Gomel Oblasts were the hardest hit by Chernobyl. Unfortunately, there are quite a few villages for whom radiation has spelled death. There are also many problems connected with the evacuation of people from the danger zone. Deadlines for the construction of new settlements are not being met, mainly as a result of construction materials shortages. This is why people in the oblast, and indeed the republic as a whole, are pinning their hopes on this construction project. The Belarussian cement plant in Kostyukovichi is destined to become the biggest plant of its kind in Europe. However, the project is beset with many difficulties and construction workers related their troubles to the republic leader.

Moldova

Snegur Inauguration Speech Addresses Reform

AU1701143792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1341 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/1/1992—In his inauguration speech the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircea Snegur, said the economic reform should include the reform of property, the reform of the methods and instruments of running the economy, the reform of the basic structures of the economy and the reform of the social and economic protection of the population, the MOLDOVA PRES news agency reports.

"Naturally, all these objectives will be translated into fact through modalities specific to our economy, which will provide for the success of the economic reform and will involve the broadest segments of the population in its promotion," he said.

"The reform of the right to ownership in our society is a major aim. In this respect, both the Constitution of the republic and the main laws which were or are to be adopted will clearly and unequivocally enshrine the existence of all forms of property in the Republic of Moldova," Mr. Snegur showed.

"The experience of the former socialist countries clearly shows that the reduction of state property to an optimal level is the key element of the economic reform. That is why, according to the laws in force and the laws to be endorsed and to a special programme, state enterprises in all the branches of our economy will gradually pass on to private and mixed property, the social base being thus secured for the operation of market laws," the president also pointed out.

Helsinki Committee Conference Held in Komrat

Costas Sends Appeal

AU2001203692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 20/1/1992—In an appeal addressed to the delegation of the Helsinki International Committee on Human Rights, the minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, Ion Costas, calls the international community's attention to the seriousness of the provocative, secessionist acts committed by the conservative communist elements in Transdniestria showing, among other things, that the Gagauz separatists' actions are supported by retrograde circles that made a coup attempt in Moscow last August. The minister of the interior referred especially to the fact that during President Mircea Snegur's visits to Moscow and Minsk, the separatist leaders in Transdnestr resorted to a number of armed provocations to thwart the establishment of new relations between Moldova and other republics of the former USSR.

Federation Suggested

LD2201160792 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By MOLDOVA PRESS for TASS]

[Text] Kishinev January 22 TASS—During a conference held at the Moldovan regional center of Komrat, parliamentarians from the republics of Dnestr and Gagauz demanded to reform Moldova into a federation of three republics. The meeting was attended by officials of the Helsinki Committee.

The participants agreed that a discussion of principles of state formation should be "the main item" on the agenda of future negotiations.

The Helsinki Committee delegates welcomed the fact that the sides, holding different values, were able to negotiate.

Agenda Agreed

AU2201182492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1992—A round table conference took place at Komrat, with the participation of the members of the conciliation commissions, of known political and public figures, as well as of the delegation of the Helsinki International Federation for Human Rights.

The participants unanimously agreed that the talks on the principles of state organization had to become the main item on the agenda of the future negotiations. The Helsinki Federation delegation hoped that the documents of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe would serve as a useful instrument in preparing the negotiations.

It is significative, MOLDOVA PRES opines, that representatives of various conceptions can conduct negotiations on such matters. Such talks, organized at top level, could lead to conciliation on issues that disunite people, MOLDOVA PRES adds.

Snegur Meets Delegates

OW2201231492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur of Moldova told Wednesday [22 January] a delegation of Helsinki-Watch committees from several European countries that he favoured UN observers taking part in the settlement of Moldova's conflict involving the Dnestr region and Gagauzia.

President Snegur said this was necessary due to activities of "a number of pro-separatist leaders who do not want to hold back their personal ambitions, continue to set up armed groups and Cossack units and intentionally provoke conflicts".

"Proposals put forward by the leaders of Tiraspol and Komrat to transform Moldova into a federation of three republics are unacceptable just because over 80 countries have already recognized Moldova as a unified sovereign republic".

The delegation's leader, Mr. Elndquist, said during the meeting he considered it his mission's task "to examine ethnic minority rights situation in Moldova".

On the same day, the mission met senior officials of the republic's interior ministry. Answering questions raised by his guests, the Moldovan interior minister, Ion Kostas, said that the release of the Dnestr region's leaders arrested earlier as "just another concession to the separatists out of which nothing good would come".

Patrol Platoon Attacked in Komrat on 22 Jan

OW2201224892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1920 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan Interior Ministry press center reports that on Wednesday, January 22, in the city of Komrat, the capital of the Gagauz republic, in the south of Moldova an attack as launched on a patrol police platoon of the Moldovan Interior Ministry. About 20 men armed with Kalashnikov automatic rifles and a machine-gun rushed into a classroom where the platoon was and demanded that it surrender arms. The attackers were headed by one of the Gagauz leaders, earlier convicted Burgudzhi. The press center says the policemen did not use arms to avoid bloodshed. The attackers captured 3 Makarov pistols and a car with a portable radio transmitter.

Supreme Soviet Removes Secretary; Adopts Bills

Tsurkanu Voted Out

OW2201222692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan parliament has voted the secretary of the legislature's presidium, Mr Ion Tsurkanu, out of office by a majority vote accusing him of abusing his position.

Moldova Svirane, a Moldovan newspaper, published an article last week revealing that Mr. Tsurkanu illegally bought a car and a large number of consumer goods and used official vehicles for his selfish ends.

However, observers note that there are political motives behind this resignation too. In an article published by "Tsara", a mouthpiece of the People's Front, Mr. Ion Tsurkanu argued that Moldova should unite with Romania and said that he became member of the National Reunification Council.

Private Company Law Adopted

AU1901164892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1620 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 19/1/1992 — The Government of the Republic of Moldova endorsed a draft law on the creation of commercial companies and enterprises, worked out by the Ministry of National Economy. According to the document, the economic and commercial activities of small and private enterprises, of companies limited by shares and of joint enterprises are to be sensibly expanded in the republic.

The draft law offers broad possibilities for the creation of new structures, such as limited liability companies, the MOLDOVA-PRES news agency reports.

Tax Bill Adopted

LD2201035292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2019 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By unidentified MOLDOVAPRES correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Jan (TASS)—The bill on "state taxation inspection" was adopted today at a session of the Moldovan parliament. In accordance with this legislative act, the tax department being formed in the republic is granted the right to carry out checks on production, warehouse and trade premises of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and citizens. In the event of the discovery of income undeclared for taxation purposes, the taxation department is granted the right to impose a fine of 100-500 roubles on private persons and from 1,000-5,000 on enterprises and organizations.

Land Reform Law Disputed

LD2201020892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2119 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By unidentified MOLDOVAPRES-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Jan (TASS)—An unexpected conflict arose today in the parliament of the Republic of Moldova. Deputy Iliye Bratu, who represents the People's Front faction, informed parliamentarians that necessary amendments have not been introduced into the land code of the republic which was adopted by the parliament at the end of the last year. The consensus with regard to ownership of land, which was reached as a result of lengthy debate, was not reflected in the document.

Currently the law is being made ready for publication in a version which was initially prepared by agrarian deputies who are in favor of collective farms owning land. According to the law, it should come into force immediately after publication, and in this case the falsification of the law would be unavoidable. [sentence as received] This report had the effect of an exploding bomb, and the fact was regarded as a political provocation on the part of political forces which have an interest. A deputies' commission has been set up, it has to listen to the sound recordings of the discussions on the land code and to bring final clarity to this issue.

Possible Boycott Cited

OW1901190992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A plenary session of the Moldovan parliament had to be cancelled yesterday.

In spite of all the efforts of the parliament's presidium to provide a quorum necessary to continue work on a set of laws on economic reforms, more than one third of deputies had failed to arrive.

According to some reports, the lack of a quorum was caused, on the one hand, by the boycott of the session on the part of the parliamentary opposition which is against Moldova's pursuing an economic policy independent of Romania's and, on the other, by the apathy of some of the deputies enervated by the vagueness of the economic and political future of the republic.

Servicemen's Rights for Future Army Defined

OW1901211992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's State Department for Military Affairs has developed a bill spelling out the rights of the servicemen of the national army to be created in the republic. The bill guarantees a high pension to retired Soviet Army officers who take Moldovan citizenship and expresss the desire to serve in the national army, and their length of service in the Soviet military will be credited toward their seniority. Servicemen will get apartments from the republican Defense Ministry. A priority right to housing will belong to those who serve 15 years or longer in the national military.

The bill forbids all political parties in the national Moldovan army, but any religion is allowed.

IF [INTERFAX] learned that Moldova would shortly establish a defense ministry. The position of its chief will probably be filled by Nikilae Kirtoake, currently general director of the State Department for Military Affairs.

Romanian Official Arrives to Open Embassy

OW2001193792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1539 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Ion Bistrenu, a Romanian Foreign Ministry official, has arrived in Kishinev. Chief of the Moldovan Foreign Ministry's Department of Information, Mr. Konstantin Chobanu, said that Mr. Bistrenu's mission was to open Romania's embassy in Kishinev. The first Romanian consul in Kishinev, Mr. Ion Krecu, has also arrived in this city.

Police Search Enterprises for Hoarded Produce

PM2201135792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the "In the Commonwealth States" rubric: "'Requisitioning' Experience Recalled"]

[Text] It seems that Moldova remembers the experience of "food requisitioning"—the police, in conjunction with officials from the Finance Ministry and the republic Department of State Control, have started to check enterprises in order to uncover produce concealed in their storehouses. This action was organized under a government directive on combating monopoly price hikes and sabotage of the economic reform under way in Moldova.

Kazakhstan

Legislator on Presidential Powers, Nuclear Arms

PM2201155992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Sergey Skorokhodov report: "We Gave the President Free Rein"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The view of power expressed by S. Abdildin, chairman of the Republic of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, at a news conference on the results of the seventh session of parliament can be expressed in precisely those terms—"free rein."

Parliament has given the president all the powers he requested for the transitional period, Abdildin stressed at the meeting with journalists. In all, the session adopted decisions on 98 questions, ratified 51 laws, and proclaimed the republic's state independence, which has now been recognized by around 60 countries in the world. Parliamentarians, in Abdildin's words, have never been under such pressure of work before.

The session formulated new approaches to the solution of problems of health care, science, public education, and religion, adopted a package of tax laws, and adopted at the first reading the Law "On the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kazakhstan," to which even the president will be accountable.

Answering questions from participants in the news conference, Abdildin stated that Kazakhstan is not going to sell nuclear weapons to anyone either now or in the future, no matter how favorable such offers may appear. He also confirmed the intention to examine President N. Nazarbayev's proposal on introducing a six-day working week at industrial and some other enterprises.

On the problem of forming the budget—the budget deficit is almost 8 billion rubles—he stated that the republic's main hopes are pinned on trading its assets—oil, gas, metal, and so forth—at world prices.

On the fate of local soviets, which are now losing power locally in favor of the strengthening of the structures of presidential power, Abdildin stated that the republic will develop democratically toward a triumvirate of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

New Weekly International Newspaper Published

PM2301095992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 6

[Report by correspondent Tleuzhan Yesilbayev: "Happy Birthday, AZ I YA"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The first issue of the international newspaper AZ I YA was published in Alma-Ata 21 January. Its founders are the Republic of Kazakhstan Council of Ministers and the Kazakh accredited press association KAZINPRESS. The new newspaper differs markedly from other publications not only in form but also in content. One of its main merits is that it is full of information.

The address to readers says: "AZ I YA is a conservative newspaper: We shall preserve what must in no way be lost. And primarily a sober view of history and the present day, of cause and effect, of individuals and actions." AZ I YA is a bridge between East and West. The weekly has correspondents' centers and offices in Moscow, Ashkhabad, Dushanbe, Bishkek, Tashkent, major centers in Russia, and the capitals of many countries of the world. The new newspaper is politically unaligned and its priorities are Turkic-Slav unification, a market economy, and the resurrection of entrepreneurship. It is published in the Kazakh and Russian languages and undertakes to provide an information service for Kazakhs who by the whim of fate have found themselves outside their historical homeland."

The editorial council of the international newspaper AZ I YA is headed by the well-known Kazakh poet Olzhas Suleymenov and the chief editor is PRAVDA journalist Grigoriy Dildyayev.

IMF Ends Inspection; Admission Chances 'Good'

OW2101183192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Alma-Ata, the Commission of the IMF's European Department has completed its two-weeks' analysis of the economic situation in Kazakhstan.

Head of the Commission, Mr. Ishan Kapoor, said that Kazakhstan stood a good chance of being admitted to the IMF. He also said that other republics also intended to join that organization.

Direct Communications Link With Israel Formed

OW2201132292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An agreement to set up joint ventures for the production of telephone equipment and establish a direct satellite telephone channel between Kazakhstan and Israel was reached in Alma-Ata on Tuesday [21 January] between Kazakhstan's premier Sergey Tereschenko and Israel's communications minister.

The Israeli official noted Kazakhstan's colossal mineral and raw materials potential and called for enhancing mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the two states. He expressed support for President Nazarbayev's efforts to ensure transition to free market and for Kazakhstan's striving to join the world community.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Mongolia

LD2201191792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Alma-Ata, 22 January (TASS)—A protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and Mongolia at embassy level was signed here today. It states that the friendship and cooperation between the two countries will be developed on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Tajikistan

Uranium Exports Planned; Libyan Group Visits

92US0195A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 19-26 Jan 92 p 5

[Text] It has been a long-standing dream of the Islamic world to have its own nuclear arsenal. After the defeat of Saddam Husayn, Rakhman Nabiyev may be the leader who could help them meet their atomic ambitions. The president of the Republic of Tajikistan, reputedly a resolute and tough leader, is increasingly winning the sympathy of Eastern leaders. It is symptomatic that Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was one of the first to congratulate the president of Tajikistan on his election. As a result, NARODNAYA GAZETA, published in Dushanbe, carried a sensational article. Its author maintains that the future of uranium mines and uranium enrichment plants in Northern Tajikistan is being discussed in the lobby of the republican government. Their goal is to sell enriched uranium, a kilogram of which sells on the world market for 100,000 U.S. dollars, or to set up a consortium with rich Arab countries to develop uranium deposits. The article presupposes that this programme will be discussed at the upcoming talks.

It is worth mentioning that the article appeared the day a delegation of the Libyan Jamahiriyah left Dushanbe. SADOI MARDUM (PEOPLE'S VOICE), the newspaper of the republican Supreme Soviet, reported that the delegation was headed by Dr. Muhammad Ahmad Sharif, secretary general of the International Islamic Call Society, the third man in Libya's state hierarchy.

A Letter of Intent was signed in Dushanbe. In the opinion of Khodzhi Akbar Turadzhon-zade, who received the delegation, the meeting only concerned the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between the two Moslem states, not the sale of uranium. At the session MP [member of parliament] Khodzhi Akbar Turadzhon-zade made an inquiry regarding the publication in NARODNAYA GAZETA, but authorities did not respond to it.

What makes the situation remarkable is the fact that the item appeared in a publication considered not long ago the main newspaper of the republic's communists. It is strictly controlled by the government and usually expresses an official viewpoint. During the recent election campaign, it succeeded in shaping public opinion in favour of the current president, Rakhman Nabiyev. It is moreover surprising that with this article the paper dealt an unmistakable blow to the president's prestige, putting him on the same level as Saddam Husayn.

What's more, the author of the item used his pen name, thereby giving rise to many questions: Was it a newspaper canard exaggerating the real events, an attempt to put President Nabiyev in a bad light in the eyes of the West and Russia, made by the supporters of former President Kakhkhar Makhkamov, or was it an international leak of information to prevent the alliance taking shape in reality?

The official authorities do not respond to this question. So far they have not reacted to the sensation published in NARODNAYA GAZETA. What is obvious is that after the collapse of the USSR the economy of Tajikistan is in such a deplorable condition that exports of raw material resources will become inevitable in the absence of other sources of income. The degree of respectability of Tajikistan's future partners is not so much a matter of commerce, as of the international prestige of Tajikistan on the eve of its recognition by the world community.

Dushanbe Introduces 'Strict' Rationing System

LD2201040492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] A strict rationing system for a number of scarce foodstuffs was introduced in the capital of Tajikistan. The city authorities have decided that every inhabitant can receive 40 grams [g] of butter, 200g of sugar, and the same amount of vegetable oil each month. According to Mayor Makhsud Ikramov, this extreme measure was taken by the city authorities because of the situation that has arisen regarding the supplies of foodstuffs. The resources are practically exhausted, but there are no new supplies yet. Agreements with the Ukraine on sugar supplies are not being fulfilled. Kazakhstan demands absolutely unacceptable prices for meat products. Even the authorities of the oblasts and rayons of the republic itself are in no hurry to fulfill their obligations to Dushanbe.

Population 'Angry' With Price Liberalization

OW1701131992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik population is increasingly angry with price liberalization in the republic, Tajikistan's President Rakhman Nabiyev stated Wednesday [22 January] at a meeting with heads of ministries dealing with food supplies.

Nabiyev demanded that the Cabinet and the Trade Ministry quickly resolve all the problems arising in this difficult period. "We have little experience in such affairs, but we should search for and find ways and methods of lowering the prices, especially, of basic foodstuffs.

It was pointed out at the meeting that a number of trade crimes had increased. The president urged participants in the meeting to more resolutely combat trade crime and distribute the confiscated goods among less socially protected groups of population.

Supreme Soviet To Enforce Work Discipline

LD2001235892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The Tajikistan Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on measures to enforce work discipline that envisages strict sanctions against those who violate production and work discipline. Henceforth, measures of administrative pressure will await those who participate in unauthorized rallies, demonstrations, and other street actions during working hours. Pressure is also increased on heads of enterprises, institutions, and organizations who deny that their employees violate work discipline.

Abolishes State Economics Committee

LD2001163992 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] In accordance with a decision by the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet on 10 January 1992 on the abolition of the State Economics Committee, Comrade Koshlakov has been relieved from his post of chairman of the State Economics Committee.

First National Guard Unit Takes Oath

LD2001100992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1239 GMT 11 Jan 92

[By TAJIKTA correspondent Shaokhiddin Ergashev]

[Text] Dushanbe, 11 Jan (TASS)—The first subunit of the republican National Guard took the oath in the Tajik capital today: Officers and servicemen swore loyalty to the people and president of the Tajikistan Republic. The text of the oath was affirmed in three languages: Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek.

General Major Bakhram Rakhmanov, commander of the republic's National Guard, told the TASS correspondent that young men of call-up age living in the republic—irrespective of nationality—have joined the first subunit of the guard, after competitive selection. They will serve for 18 months.

Trade Agreement Signed With Bashkortostan

LD2101114692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] A trade and economic agreement for 1992 has been signed in Dushanbe between the republics of Tajikistan and Bashkortostan. The document provided for the supply of oil products, metals, building materials, and medicines from Bashkortostan. The Tajik authorities, for their part, undertook to fulfill contractual commitments with regard to the supply of precious cotton fiber and equipment for light and food industries. Joint processing enterprises and trade institutions are to be set up on the territories of the two republics.

Communist Party Congress Continues

LD2001212992 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 19 Jan 92

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 19 TASS—An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan continued its work here on Saturday [18 January]. The first stage of the congress was held in September 1991. The activities of the Tajik Communist Party were temporarily suspended by the republican parliament until finding out what was the connection between the party's leaders and the State Emergency Committee.

Delegates to the Communist Party congress are discussing the report of their leader Shodi Shabdolov about the situation in the party and the tasks facing it in the current socio-political situation in the republic, with due account for the existence of a multi-party system. Speakers at the congress stressed that the Communist Party set itself the task to promote on the basis of democracy the implementation of radical economic reforms in the republic, aimed at improving the living standards of the population. The party opposes the total capitalisation of the economy and the thoughtless destruction of the social gains of the working people. In the political sphere communists remain loyal to socialist values and to the creation of a single union of sovereign republics.

The name of the party became the topic of an acute discussion. Representatives of the radical-democratic platform suggested that the party be called socialist. A keen discussion was also started over the problem of the party's property. According to a report of the business administrator of the party's Central Committee, the party apparatus managed to keep a major part of the money and the buildings, despite the demands to "return the plundered property to the people." However, some delegates insisted on a full expropriation of the property, which is being carried out on the decision of the Tajik parliament.

The congress is being attended by representatives of similar parties from other republics, including the Russian Communist Workers' Party.

Armenia

Commanders Seized Over Helicopter Withdrawal

LD2201123792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] On Tuesday [21 January] the Armenian militants seized the commander of the Caucasian Military District, General Patrikeyev, and the commander of the district's 7th Army, General Meshcheryakov. The two generals were seized in the Yerevan Airport when they were about to leave. What prompted the act was the decision to withdraw 14 helicopter gunships from the military district. Later, the militants released the commander of the district, General Patrikeyev, on parole but continued to withhold General Meshcheryakov. The commander of the military district is taking measures to settle the dangerous incident.

General Denies Report on Capture

LD2201150592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—"Deliberate fabrication"—this is how Colonel General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasian Military District, characterized the reports by certain media that he and 7th Army commander Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Meshcheryakov were captured at Yerevan airport in a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent.

"On 21 January, I did arrive in Yerevan from Tbilisi. I met with the president of Armenia and other leaders of the republic and informed them of the results of the all-Army officers meeting," the commander of the Transcaucasian Military District troops said.

"Other questions were also discussed. In particular, the leadership of the republic asked about returning the helicopters recently redeployed to other regions of the military district for various reasons, including repairs. This question was resolved. On 21 January I returned to Tbilisi and this morning came to work. Lt. Gen. Meshcheryakov is also carrying out his usual duties," Valeriy Patrikeyev concluded.

Ter-Petrosyan Receives Egyptian Delegation

NC2201211992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today received a delegation from the Arab Republic of Egypt, led by Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri.

Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri, giving warm thanks for the friendly reception accorded by Armenia, said the delegation—consisting of Egyptian Electricity and Energy Minister Mahir Abazah, Industry Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab, Economy and Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Yusri Mustafa, and other representatives of government and business circles—is visiting Armenia to conduct talks on establishing mutually advantageous ties between the two states and to set up links between businessmen.

He conveyed to Ter-Petrosyan a message of greetings and an invitation to visit Egypt from President Husni Mubarak.

Expressing satisfaction with the visit of such a high-level delegation, Ter-Petrosyan said this proves the Egyptian authorities' interest in cooperating with Armenia in various areas. He assured that the Armenian Government in turn will do everything possible to create good conditions for mutual cooperation. He also noted that he accepts President Mubarak's invitation with pleasure and stressed that the further deepening of the Armenians' traditional friendly ties with the Arab world, including Egypt, which has attained notable success in political and economic areas, stems from the interest of the two peoples. He also gratefully mentioned the humanitarian assistance the Egyptian Government and people gave soon after the earthquake.

Armenian Deputy Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, Deputy Foreign Minister Arman Kirakosyan and other officials attended the meeting, during which issues of mutual interest were discussed.

Joint Trade Communique Issued

NC2301111492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0955 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Jan (MENA)—Egypt and Armenia have affirmed their desire to consolidate joint cooperation in all domains. They have also noted the importance of maintaining the appropriate conditions for developing relations and increasing bilateral trade.

This came in a joint Egyptian-Armenian communique issued yesterday at the end of a visit by Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning and international cooperation. During the visit al-Janzuri was handed a message for President Husni Mubarak from President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The communique explained that Egypt's recognition of Armenian independence and establishing diplomatic relations in the near future will effectively contribute to strengthening friendship and cooperation.

The two sides proposed setting up an Egyptian-Armenian business society and a joint bank, as well as organizing fairs and establishing relations between the chambers of commerce and foreign trade companies.

Armenia lauded Egypt's initiative in sending a high-level delegation to discuss developing bilateral relations in all domains.

Armenia expressed deep gratitude to the Egyptian people who rendered humanitarian aid following the earthquake of December 1988. It also stressed its appreciation of the great role President Mubarak played at that time.

Efforts To Form Republican Government Cited

NC2201213492 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] The situation is relatively calm in Stepanakert. ARMENPRES correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan reports from Stepanakert that the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] again came under fire during the night and early morning of 22 January. The firing came from the direction of Shusha. One person was injured. The artillery shelling of Stepanakert ceased only after Armenians returned fire from (?Shurch) Armenian village in Askeranskiy Rayon.

The Azerbaijanis fired on Martuni town from Amirallar. Fortunately, this time there were no casualties.

The first meeting of the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in Stepanakert. It discussed measures to solve the republic's political and economic crisis. Chairman of the Council of Ministers Oleg Yesayan was instructed to form the republican government as soon as possible and present the list for the confirmation of the parliament.

NKR Supreme Soviet Chairman Artur Mkrtchyan met Baroness Caroline Cox [deputy speaker of the British House of Lords], who is visiting Nagorno-Karabakh. In the name of the Armenian people of the republic, Mkrtchyan conveyed to her deep gratitude for the efforts exerted to provide humanitarian assistance to Nagorno- Karabakh.

In her turn, Baroness Cox assured Mkrtchyan that she is ready to continue to do everything so the world will learn the truth about the just struggle for freedom by the people of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Diplomatic Relations Established With UK

NC2101172092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Garnik Badalyan, press secretary at the Armenian Foreign Ministry, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovannisian and Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, exchanged diplomatic messages 20 January on the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Armenia and Great Britain.

The Armenian Republic has established diplomatic relations with eight countries thus far.

Lack of Paper Stops PRAVDA Publication

PM2201143992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Armen Khanbabyan: "Armenia without PRAVDA"]

[Text] The last issue of PRAVDA to reach subscribers and kiosks of the former "Soyuzpechat" in Armenia was dated 31 December last year. This year PRAVDA, like the majority of other Moscow publications in the republic, is not being published.

The main reason is that there is no paper. Actually, back last year the editorial office supplied a substantial stock of paper to Yerevan—80 tonnes. But in the period of rail blockades when there was no transport it was in fact expropriated by the publishing house which now belongs to the Armenian Council of Ministers and used to print local newspapers. It is worth recalling that this paper cost PRAVDA 92 kopeks a kilogram. Proceeding from that calculation the publishing house is in principle prepared to make good the losses. But unfortunately the price of one kilogram of paper is now close to 10 rubles....

In addition prices for printing work are rising uncontrollably. Thus, printing one issue will now cost the editorial office about 20 times more than even a month ago. It would seem that the reasons are objective enough. But what are the subscribers to PRAVDA and other Moscow newspapers to do when they have trustingly paid their money and still not received a single issue. What answer can be given to those people?

Rail Traffic From Georgia, Azerbaijan Ceases

LD2301120692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] RIKA reports that there is no rail traffic to Armenia from Azerbaijan and Georgia. Only the Narashanskiy junction, which lets trains through via the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, is operating. Yet this is far from sufficient. Trains with fuel, food, and building materials for the earthquake-stricken zone are stuck on the far approaches to Armenia. The food crisis in the republic is worsening.

Delayed Plane Departure Case 'Exhausted'

OW2201214392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Armenian presidential press service, the Armenian side considers that the January 21 incident at the Yerevan airport when the departure of a plane with two generals of the Commonwealth Armed Forces on board was delayed, has exhausted itself.

Commander of the Transcaucasian Military District, Colonel-General Valeriy Patrikeyev and Commander of the 7th Army, Major-General Yevgeniy Mesheryakov were scheduled to leave Erebuni airport late Monday [20 January].

Well-informed sources in Yerevan say the plane's departure was delayed by the airport administration after it learned about the departure of 14 "MI-24" military helicopters from Erebuni. The helicopters took off without permission by the republican leadership and meteorological services. The two general and officers accompanying them were invited to the Armenian parliament. During the meeting there the two sides agreed to return the helicopters to their permanent stations.

Azerbaijan

President Mutalibov Departs on Visit to Turkey

LD2301093292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0854 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Baku, 23 Jan (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, left on a state visit to Turkey today.

In an interview before his departure, Ayaz Mutalibov expressed the hope for a further development of multilateral ties, including parliamentary links, with Turkey. This visit, he said, is a continuation of the working contacts between our countries. We intend to hold talks on the creation of joint enterprises, the promotion of the advanced technology in Turkey's possession and which our industry needs. Questions of humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan will also be discussed.

Egyptian Deputy Premier, Delegation on Visit

Meet With Mutalibov

LD2301100592 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Baku January 22 AZERINFORM - TASS—Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, received an Egyptian delegation headed by Kamal Ahmad al-Janzuri, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of planning.

Both sides discussed prospects for creating a joint Azeri-Egyptian bank and carrying out other joint economic projects.

Convey Mubarek Invitation

NC2301080392 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Summary From Poor Reception] "President Mutalibov received the visiting Egyptian delegation headed by Dr. Kamal Ahmad al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister for foreign liaison. After warmly greeting the Egyptian guests, Mutalibov thanked Egypt for recognizing Azerbaijan's independence."

President Mutalibov noted that establishing diplomatic relations will lead to the development of cultural, trade, and economic relations. "Deputy Prime Minister al-Janzuri conveyed an invitation from President Mubarak to President Mutalibov."

The two sides expressed the conviction that the preliminary steps have been taken to establish diplomatic relations.

Meet Prime Minister Gasonov

NC2301084992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has received the visiting Egyptian delegation headed by Dr. Kamal Ahmad al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister for foreign liaison. They discussed prospects for economic cooperation and noted that bilateral cooperation in science, culture, industry, and agriculture will strengthen relations between the peoples of Azerbaijan and Egypt.

Mutalibov, Swiss Ambassador Discuss Relations

NC2301100692 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] President Mutalibov received Jean Pierre Ritter, Switzerland's ambassador to Russia, on 21 January. The Swiss Government was the first European government to recognize Azerbaijan's independence. Its initiative to establish diplomatic relations with Azerbaijan benefits both countries. Ritter noted that Azerbaijan's move toward independence will further strengthen its chances of finding a worthy place in the international community.

President Mutalibov stressed the need to adhere to the principle of mutual respect in developing cultural, trade, and economic relations. He also briefed his guest on Azerbaijan's relations with the Commonwealth of Independence States and the measures that have been taken to remove the [word indistinct] problems. Mutalibov explained in detail incidents in the mountainous area of Karabakh.

Kamran Rustamov, state adviser on humanitarian affairs, Foreign Minister Guseyn Sadykhov, and Rakhim Agayev, head of the presidential [word indistinct] department, attended the meeting.

President Mutalibov Requests UN Membership

LD2101181792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0952 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Baku, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has sent an official application from the republic's President Ayaz Mutalibov to the UN secretary general requesting membership of the United Nations Organization. The AZERINFORM correspondent was told at the republic's foreign political department that 70 countries have recognized Azerbaijan's independence to date.

Karabakh 'Problem' Discussed With UN Officials

NC2201155092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, received two representatives, [names and titles indistinct], of the UN Commission on the Rights of National Minorities, on 17 January. [Name indistinct], adviser to President Mutalibov; Isa Zemberov, head of the Azerbaijan National Council Committee on International Affairs; and [name and title indistinct], attended. They discussed the Karabakh, formerly Nagorno-Karabakh, problem, which was imposed on Azerbaijan four years ago, Armenian land claims against Azerbaijan, and the many attacks on Azerbaijani towns. Considering international disputes, the meeting noted that only peaceful negotiations and the [word indistinct] can achieve the desired results.

In line with international agreements on human rights, Azerbaijan is prepared to guarantee the rights of Armenians living in the Karabakh mountains. Azerbaijan's sovereignty and territorial integrity are not negotiable.

Nagorno-Karabakh To Form New Government

LD2201180292 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, January 22 (TASS)—The Prime Minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Oleg Esayan, has been ordered to form a new government to take urgent measures to stabilise the political and economic situation in the republic.

Meanwhile, the crime rate remains high in Nagorno-Karabakh, the republican interior ministry said.

Azeri guerrillas shelled the cities of Stepanakert (Khankenui) and Martuni last night, destroying several buildings and wounding one resident. Shootings were also reported in the outskirts of Stepanakert last night. There were no reports about the number of casualties.

Ministry Reports Shelling From Armenia

LD2201201992 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Sabir Mirzoev]

[Text] Baku January 22 TASS—The city of Shusha in Nagorno-Karabakh was shelled last night from the side of the Armenian villages of Dashalty, Mkhitarkend and Shushikend, and the city of Khankendi (former Stepanakert). According to the Azeri Interior Ministry, some 20 apartment houses and a polyclinic were destroyed. There are wounded among the civilian population, including women, old people and children.

Mansur Mamedov, head of the executive authorities of the district, said that the day before the fighters had blown up a tower support of the power transmission line, which supplied the city with electricity, as well as a pumping station. As a result of those actions, Shusha has been left without drinkable water and heat supply. Electricity is supplied to apartment houses, kindergartens, schools and industrial enterprises with interruptions.

The only road connecting Shusha with the rest of the republic goes across the city of Lachin, situated on the border with Armenia. However, difficult weather conditions and incessant attacks of fighters do not allow to use the road to the full.

The Azeri villages of Kyarkidzhakhan and Nabilyar were burned and practically razed to the ground by fighters over the past two days. Their residents fled the villages under the fire of tanks and armoured vehicles which were approaching them from the side of Khankendi.

The situation in the Azeri villages of Kosalar and Malybeili, Shusha district, is also very complicated. They have been under a blockade for a long time. All roads to those villages are mined, helicopters are fired at from the ground. This is why the airlift connecting the villages with the outside world is now practically non-existent.

Decree Signed To Stimulate Individual Farms

OW2001164892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov has signed a decree on measures aimed at stimulating individual farming.

The decree instructs the executive authorities to determine before February 1 which lands in their regions are used inefficiently and place them at the disposal of individual farmers Besides, the lands belonging to money-losing collective and state farms will be turned over to individual farmers.

Plots of land will be leased to farmers on permanent basis. The farmers will be obliged to sell 50% of their produce to the state at contractual prices. In exhange the state will guarantee material and technical supplies for them. As for the rest of the produce, farmers will dispose of it as they please.

1 Killed in Attempt To Cross Iranian Border

NC2201130392 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Fifteen residents of (Okse) in Dzhalalabad Rayon tried to cross the border between Azerbaijan and Iran at 1500 on 16 January. They were fired on by border military units. One person was killed and four were wounded. The military procuracy is reported to have launched an investigation into the incident.

Baku Reports Refugees Exempted From Taxes

NC2201145992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Summary From Poor Reception] "In the light of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet decision, dated 6 November 1991, the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to improve the situation of the refugees who have been forced to leave their permanent residences." The Council of Ministers' decision exempted those who lost their families, homes, and property when they emigrated from Armenia from paying taxes and charges for communal services. The Azerbaijan Ministry of Finance and the Azerbaijan Main Tax Office were ordered to consider the guidelines for refugees when determining the people's taxes.

"The decision will go into effect on 1 January 1992."

Measures Taken Against Assaults on Servicemen

OW2201214292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri Interior and State Security Ministries have announced plans "to take resolute measures to prevent the seizure of military servicemen's arms and equipment, to search and detain participants in these illegal actions."

In a joint statement issued January 22 the two ministries point out that lately assaults have been launched in Azerbaijan on military servicemen aimed at capturing their arms and equipment. As a result, several people were killed. In the view of the ministries, such incidents aggravate relations between the local population and the army. The statement notes that "these actions are used by certain forces for further aggravating the social and political situation in Azerbaijan."

Georgia

Government, Gamsakhurdia Supporters Negotiate

LD2201143692 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vitaliy Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Though supporters of ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia did not fulfill the demand of the new Georgian authorities to hand in the firearms, no armed clashes were reported in Georgia on Wednesday [22 January].

The provisional government sent another ultimatum to Gamsakhurdia's supporters demanding to clear away road blocks from highways leading to the cities of Zugdidi and Poti and to unblock the railway link, TASS learned from reliable Georgian sources.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia is still staying in Georgia, not far from Sukhumi, the sources said.

Council Headquarters Moved

OW2201172092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [22 January] the headquarters of the Georgian military council moved from Kutaisi to the city of Senaki located some 30 kilometers away from Zugdidi, IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the press center of the military council in Tbilisi. The headquarters is led by Jaba Ioseliani, a member of the council and leader of the paramilitary organization "Mhedrioni".

According to the press center, the city of Senaki was captured by Tenghiz Kitovani's national guard units and "Mhedrioni" fighters on Tuesday [21 January]. Supporters of the deposed president Zviad Gamsakhurdia tried to put up armed resistance which was broken soon. There are no reports on casualties.

Tuesday's negotiations between J. Ioseliani and the leader of the Zugdidi-based forces of disobedience to Georgia's new authorities Walter Shurgaya led to reaching an agreement on disarming Z. Gamsakhurdia's supporters. However, the agreement failed to be honoured, since the headquarters of disobedience forces is not in control of all the groupings opposing the new authorities.

According to reports from Poti, its population objects to the deployment of government troops, claiming that it is capable of evicting Gamsakhurdia's supporters entrenched there on its own, by peaceful means.

In the meantime the press center of Georgia's interior ministry reports that on Tuesday exchanges of fire took place in the town of Abasha. A number of people were wounded. Besides, Tuesday evening in Poti an attack was launched on a military unit for the purpose of seizing arms. The attack was rebuffed, said the press center.

Supporters Send Team

AU2201152092 Paris AFP in English 1344 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Zugdidi, Georgia, Jan 22 (AFP)—Supporters of ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia sent three representatives from here Wednesday to negotiate with forces of the ruling Georgian military council at their new base in a town about 45 kilometers (30 miles) south of here, officials said.

The decision to send the negotiating team appeared to indicate that loyalist forces were prepared to stop fighting and that the Tbilisi military council could soon claim control over all of Georgia.

The negotiators were sent as around 3,000 Gamsakhurdia supporters rallied at the main square here and heard speeches from loyalist leaders including Walter

Shurgaya, the coordinator of political resistance in western Georgia to the new regime in Tbilisi.

"We have the people but they have the guns," Shurgaya told the crowd.

"They can kill you but they can never make you obey them. You may not like this now but in some years you will see it was right," he added.

Officials here admitted that the Tbilisi forces had sent an ultimatum Tuesday calling on Gamsakhurdia's armed supporters to leave Zugdidi, the ousted Georgian leader's last stronghold, and added that the decision to send negotiators was in response to this.

The Tbilisi forces called on the loyalists to agree to transmit broadcasts from Tbilisi television, to remove roadblocks and to restore railway traffic and reopen Black Sea coastal ports.

"We don't want anymore bloodshed," one official said.

Supporters Refuse To Disarm

LD2301130292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 23 Jan (TASS)—The latest round of talks between representatives of the Georgian military council and supporters of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia ended unsuccessfully in the town of Senaki. Today, Dzhaba Ioseliani, a leader of the military council, informed the TASS correspondents over the phone that the opposing side refuses to meet the ultimatum and to lay down its arms.

At the same time, despite the fact that the date set by the ultimatum expired at midnight yesterday, the government troops have not started active combat actions. According to Dzhaba Ioseliani, the military council still hopes that reason will prevail and Gamsakhurdia's supporters will surrender and thus prevent bloodshed.

Heavy snow, which in places covered the ground with 70 and more centimeters, unexpectedly influenced the military situation in western Georgia. Dzhaba Ioseliani said that this impedes the movement of troops significantly. However, the plans of the military council are being implemented: today the advance of its troops on the town of Khobi, which is situated on the approaches to Zugdidi, will start.

Touching on the situation in the seaside town of Poti, he added that insignificant exchanges of fire are taking place there, and two fighters from government detachments have been wounded.

Gamsakhurdia's Whereabouts Still Uncertain

Said Still in Zugdidi

LD2201132892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Georgia has sharply deteriorated. After fierce fighting with Gamsakhurdia's supporters the forces of the Military Council have seized the town of Abasha in western Georgia. According to REUTER, the Military Council's forces lost at least five persons.

At this moment our television center is picketed by Gamsakhurdia's supporters.

[Correspondent E. Dzhafarov] It has not been confirmed that Gamsakhurdia has flown from Zugdidi. The parliament of the Chechen Republic discussed Gamsakhurdia's possible arrival in Groznyy and decided unanimously that Chechnya should not interfere in the internal affairs of a neighboring sovereign state. To tell the truth, the decision was made in the absence of Dzhokhar Dudayev.

In their turn, the new government and Military Council of Georgia have refuted rumors about possible repressions of the ex-president's supporters. The statement says that only those who have committed crimes will be punished.

Talks have started but have not produced any results so far. Dzhabu Ioseliani set conditions for Gamsakhurdia's supporters to lay down their arms by 2000 on 21 January, otherwise force will be used.

Armed clashes between the two sides are taking place in Abashskiy rayon, adjacent to Zugdidi. So far it is relatively calm in Zugdidi itself. A rally, which gathered less than 500 supporters of the former president, was held here. Up until now Gamsakhurdia's attempts to leave Zugdidi have been unsuccessful: roads and air space are totally controlled by the opposition forces.

Reportedly Ill in Ghali

LD2201182792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Report by IPRINDA Agency correspondent Zurab Gvani in Tbilisi]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] And now, something about the situation in the western regions of Georgia. Early on 22 January government troops occupied a number of major towns in this region. The towns of Poti, Abasha, and Martveli have all been taken under the control of the provisional government. During the entry into the town of Abasha by the Mhedrioni government armed formation, shooting broke out from supporters of the former president and as a result of which one person was killed and three were injured.

According to the latest reports which, unfortunately, have not been substantiated, Zviad Gamsakhurdia is gravely ill and hooked up to an intravenous drip in the town of Ghali.

On 22 January talks began between Dzhaba Ioseliani, a Military Council member, and a Gamsakhurdia supporter in the form of former Supreme Soviet Deputy Valter Shurgay. Well, let's hope that they will be able to avoid more bloodshed, as they say.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Battle With Military

Control Sukhumi Airport

AU2201171492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] As reported by our Sukhumi correspondent, the airport there is still controlled by Gamsakhurdia supporters. Yesterday only one plane took off in the direction of Moscow. Supporters say that it had 70 passengers, who were heading for Moscow to conduct protest actions. (?Ruaz Kardava), who heads a batallion of Gamsakhurdia supporters, told the correspondent that they had been instructed not to permit any aircraft to land or take off without special permission. The airstrip is blocked by automobiles.

Fighting in Abash Reported

LD2201131992 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] The situation remains complicated in some of the regions in western Georgia where the population supports the former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. In the city of Zugdidi where he is said to be staying, from 500 to 600 people gathered at a meeting to support him. In the city of Abash there was an armed clash between the supporters and opponents of Gamsakhurdia, and in the resort city of Gagra on the Black Sea the authorities are trying, so far unsuccessfully, to make a group of National Guard who are on the side of the opposition leave the city.

Troops To Prevent Civil War

OW2201195092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy Commander of the Transcaucasian Military District, Lieutenant-Colonel Sufian Beppayev has stated that "by order of the Commonwealth Armed Forces Command, units stationed in Georgia may take measures to part the opposing sides in the republic in order to prevent a civil war."

Beppayev told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that troops stationed in Georgia are still maintaining neutrality.

Poti Prefect Resigns

AU2301092492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 22 Jan

[Text] As a SAKINFORM correspondent has informed us, on the afternoon of 22 January the prefect of Poti—who during the last few days was one of the organizers of the disturbances and sabotage in this strategically important town—resigned. As a result, the situation in the town has become considerably less tense.

On the same day, negotiations were continuing in Zugdidi between representatives of the Military Council and the former president with the aim of stabilizing the situation throughout the whole republic.

At a news conference held for Georgian and foreign journalists, Batoni Tengiz Kitovani [one of the Military Council leaders] stated that one of the two ships carrying cargoes of wheat that had left the port of Poti was temporarily bound for Novorossiysk. Once peace had been established, it would return with its cargo to Poti.

Poti Bridges Mined

LD2301125992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0615 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] The telephone rang in our studio, and the correspondent from "Author's TV," Vladimir Mezentsev, is on the line from Batumi. We are ready to listen to the news you have for us. Please go ahead.

[Mezentsev] I am in the building of the Adzharian Supreme Soviet. We arrived here yesterday by sea from Poti. This is virtually the only live line which connects Poti to the outer world. Barricades have been erected on roads. Bridges are being mined. Buses and motor vehicles are subjected to attacks. According to the head of Poti port, the town bank has been robbed. It had $40,000 belonging to the port. The port itself and its collective are working with long stoppages. The dockers are in political conflict. Enterprises are suffering colossal losses. Late last night, with REUTER correspondent Vellis Capius, I witnessed shooting in the port's maritime area. The shooting occurred on the sea front and in the city itself.

The whereabouts of Zviad Gamsakhurdia are still unknown. According to some reports, he is in Galskiy Rayon of Abkhazia, but the president's aide, whom I met in Poti, (Nudzhar Moginashvili), said the president was in Zugdidi. Moreover, Moginashvili promised to take me with him to Zugdidi, but did not manage to: On the way, his car came under gunfire, and it is not known if he is alive.

As people were boarding the Kometa at Poti, there was terrible panic, and women and children were left on the quayside. The captain of the Kometa said this was the last time the Sochi Kometa would call at Poti, and seamen did not want to risk their lives any more.

In Batumi, it is relatively stable. This is largely helped by the position of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of

Adzharia, Aslan Abashidze, who is acting as an intermediary between the warring sides, distancing himself from any political declarations which would eventually inevitably lead to fresh bloodshed. Also, Abashidze himself has a bodyguard of about 20 men armed with Kalashnikov submachine guns and (Mazarov) pistols.

No wonder: Here too it is becoming troubled. Yesterday, there was a bloodbath at the bazaar. Local observers ascribe it to the desire of certain circles to intimidate the peasantry bringing produce to Batumi and bring instability to the region. Another crime was committed in broad daylight. A grenade was thrown into a line in order to seize bread.

That is what is happening in a nutshell.

Troops Prepare To Storm Poti

LD2201172392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the town of Poti has become critical. This is how Bakhtadze, deputy prefect of the town of Poti, assessed the situation today. In a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent, he said that the troops of the Georgian interim government have advanced to the edge of town and are preparing to storm it. According to Bakhtadze, in the streets of Poti the residents and armed formations loyal to former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia are building barricades and are ready to repel the supporters of the interim government with their weapons.

In Tbilisi today a demonstration was held again by supporters of the former president. About 2,000 people marched from the station square up to the town center demanding that 30 of their associates arrested yesterday be released. The demonstration was dispersed by the national guard subunits with the aid of warning shots fired into the air and tear gas.

Poti Defenders To Blow Up Town

LD2301161692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Report by TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetov]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi, 23 Jan (TASS)—"The defenders of Poti are in a resolute mood and will blow up the town in the event of an attack by troops of the interim government," Tengiz Baramidze, the prefect of this town in western Georgia told a TASS correspondent today on the telephone.

According to him, from 1800 hours [1500 GMT] in the evening until 0400 hours this morning [0100 GMT] the town was subjected to attacks from two directions, but they were rebuffed by the armed detachments of the supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. "The attackers tried to fire on the town with heavy caliber artillery guns, but their fire was dampened by the return strikes of the 'Alazan' missile system," the prefect reported. "Two people were wounded among the defenders."

The prefect confirmed the report that he intended to resign from his post. "This is not the step of a coward, but of a rational person," Tengiz Baramidze said, "but the townspeople have not allowed me to do that and, moreover, they have blockaded the building and have not allowed the representatives of the confronting side to come in for talks.

Poti's defense is being supervised by a military council, continued the head of the town's administration. The prefect allowed the possibility that the port structures and the elevator for processing grain which comes into Georgia by sea could be mined. In any case, he specified, explosives have been laid on the bridge across the river Rioni from the eastern side of the town, but one span of the bridge on the approaches to Poti from the west has already been blown up. There are barricades in the streets.

At the same time, Tengiz Baramidze has expressed hope for a peaceful solution of the conflict. "We should come to an agreement in order to avoid a shameful page in the history of Georgia, which fratricidal bloodshed could turn into." [passage omitted]

Situation in Gagra Updated

AU2301093492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 23 Jan

[Text] As is known, over the last few days the situation has become more tense in Gagra. A local Mkhedrioni [Horsemen—paramilitary organization commanded by Dzaba Ioseliani, one of the leaders of the Military Council] detachment has been in the "Tbilisi" sanatorium there for the last two weeks. In a conversation with our Sukhumi correspondent [words indistinct] the commander of the detachment stated that the detachment does not intend to leave the sanatorium and that it is not (?hindering) anyone. On the contrary, in his opinion the local authorities should take measures against those who are organizing unsanctioned rallies and other actions in the town. During the last three days, there have been pro-Gamsakhurdia rallies in Gagra.

In a conversation with our Sukhumi correspondent, Batoni Kobe [words indistinct] chairman of the Gagra executive committee stated that it is calm in the town. The authorities are trying to settle the conflict by peaceful means. He also stated that representatives of the Georgian population in Gagra had proposed to act as intermediaries in order to settle the conflict between the Mkhedrioni and pro-Gamsakhurdia supporters. As Batoni Kote [words indistinct] informed us, negotiations had been planned to begin yesterday, at 1700, with the participation of the intermediaries.

Casualties Reported in Kutaisi

AU2201172292 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Kutaisi rather resembles a frontline town now. It is not just a matter of shortages of electricity, fuel, or gasoline, or the fact that public transportation is not functioning. In actual fact, the entire municipal economy has been disrupted. What is taking place in areas adjacent to Kutaisi is particularly alarming. The numbers of wounded and dead in hospitals is increasing every day. As of today, the number of dead has reached 10. Yet another tragedy took place on 21 January at the boundary between Samtredi and (?Abaka) Rayons, in [name indistinct]. According to unconfirmed reports, two people died and others were wounded as a result of an armed confrontation there.

Supporters Break 'Information Blockade'

LD2301074392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0625 GMT 23 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 23 Jan (TASS)—Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his supporters have, as it appears, gone over to active measures. A well-informed source close to Dzhokhar Dudayev, the president of the Chechen Republic, has handed to TASS several reports which came by telephone from Georgia overnight. According to the source, Gamsakhurdia's supporters, by sending these reports to Chechen, are trying to break through the information blockade that the provisional government of Georgia has erected around them.

The first report says that Gamsakhurdia, while lacking any other means, is distributing his appeal to the people of Georgia by video cassettes. The document says that he assesses the events in Georgia as "an attempt made by the junta and criminal elements to usurp the authorities that have been elected by the people." He calls upon all the inhabitants of the republic for a general strike and civil disobedience.

Another report from Georgia received by telephone says the "supporters of the legitimate president and Georgian parliament have demanded at a meeting held yesterday that the Supreme Soviet and President Zviad Gamsakhurdia resume carrying out their duties and to immediately arrest and bring to trial the people who have commited a state coup in Georgia, as well as to halt the activities of the republican Interior Ministry and Procuracy bodies which have shown leniency toward them. There has been no official reaction from Groznyy to these reports. Nevertheless, Dzhokhar Dudayev has stated from the beginning of the events in Georgia that he recognizes in any state only the legitimately elected powers.

Officials Comment on Situation in Republic

Stability Predicted

LD2201183692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1639 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Georgia should stabilize by 25 January. This forecast was made by Tengiz Kitovani, one of the leaders of the republic's Military Council.

At a news conference today he noted that at present the forces of the Georgian provisional government control about 90 percent of the territory of Georgia, with the exception of the towns of Zugdidi and Poti. Kitovani recalled that the deadline of the ultimatum for the surrender of weapons, presented to Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters in those towns, expires today, after which force might be used. He expressed the hope, however, that the enemy will display good sense and not opt for bloodshed.

As for the situation in South Ossetia, Kitovani said that attacks by unknown persons on Georgian villages have become more frequent over the past 2-3 days. Several people have been abducted, including children. He imagines that the attackers might be not only Ossetians, but also pro-Gamsakhurdia Georgians who thereby wish to exacerbate the situation in that region.

The situation in western Georgia remains generally difficult, Tengiz Kitovani said. According to him, Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters in the town of Poti have blown up a bridge at the approaches to the town, and mined installations in the maritime port and bakery.

Turning to the possible whereabouts of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Tengiz Kitovani added that this will be ascertained shortly.

Sigua on Gamsakhurdia

PM2201155392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Georgia: Several Days Without Gunfire"]

[Text] Tbilisi—During the afternoon of 20 January it became known that talks had begun in Zugdidi between representatives of the Military Council and the Provisional Government and supporters of the former Georgian president headed by Valter Shurgaya, chairman of the National Disobedience Committee.

In the words of [Provisional Government head] Tengiz Sigua, the initiative for the talks came from Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who asked the Provisional Government to help Gamsakhurdia leave for a country in the West. In reply it was stated that the authorities agreed to help if the corresponding written request came from the ex-president himself.

According to information in the Provisional Government's possession, not a single country in the world has expressed a desire to give asylum to the overthrown president. Gamsakhurdia and his family have received only a private invitation from France. Incidentally, the whereabouts of Mrs. Gamsakhurdia have become known. According to Gamsakhurdia's supporters she is in Sochi under secure protection. The conditions being proposed by the Military Council and the Provisional Government include the disarming of the ex-president's supporters and the restoration of a normal rhythm of life in Zugdidi and some other regions of Mengrelia. The authorities have given guarantees of immunity to all Gamsakhurdia's supporters except those who have committed serious crimes.

The news that the Military Council and the Provisional Government have agreed to let Gamsakhurdia leave the country caused journalists some surprise because it is well known that charges have been made against the former president under four articles of the Georgian criminal code. It is also known that Absandze, the former economics and finance minister, and Gelantiya, chairman of the parliamentary budget and finance commission, have confirmed during the inquiry into numerous instances of embezzlement of budget money that Zviad Gamsakhurdia was directly involved in these matters.

However, as Tengiz Sigua told journalists, the authorities are not now interested in arresting Gamsakhurdia. You can understand them inasmuch as today the ex-president's presence on Georgian territory in any capacity is a destabilizing factor. But, in Sigua's words, as soon as it becomes feasible Georgia will demand Gamsakhurdia's extradition from whatever country he is in at the time.

As for contacts with the leadership of other countries and republics belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States, Sigua noted that he has had a telephone conversation with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who congratulated the Georgian people on the democratic forces' victory and assured the new Georgian leadership of the Russian parliament's support for democratic transformations in Georgia. Sigua told journalists that as soon as the situation in Zugdidi returns to normal, the Military Council will resign and hand over full power to the Georgian Government. In his opinion, this will happen in the next week.

Today's newspapers have published the draft law on parliamentary elections. The Provisional Government's Consultative Council, which includes representatives of almost all the political parties, has generally approved this draft law and proposed that it be submitted to general discussion. The specially created committee on land resources and land reform has prepared specific measures to implement the land reform in Georgia. It will begin 25 January and will end mid-March. The reason for the tight deadline is the beginning of the spring field work. The land in Georgia must have an owner by spring this year, Sigua stated. In his words, the land will be transferred to the peasants free and in perpetuity. They will be exempted from all taxes except land tax.

As for Georgia's new constitution, the majority of political parties and organizations consider it advisable to restore the 1921 Constitution, from the period of the Georgian Democratic Republic. The Provisional Government holds a similar opinion. As Tengiz Sigua has stated, this Constitution meets Georgia's vital interests and all the requirements of international law. But there is no such unanimity on the question of the timing of the parliamentary elections. Some centrist parties believe that holding the elections in April will not help to stabilize the situation. In their opinion, the main thing now is to give the government an opportunity to carry out economic reforms, regulate interethnic relations, and dismantle the centralized system of management. They cite next November as the most acceptable date for the elections.

Estonia

Government Resigns; New One Formed in 2 Weeks

LD2301121792 Tallinn Estonian Radio in Finnish 1030 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] The Estonian Government is resigning. Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar presented the government's resignation application at today's session of the Estonian parliament.

According to Savisaar, Estonia needs unanimity of political forces. The prime minister emphasized that the government resigns mainly for internal peace. According to him, the country needs a government that has the trust of the parliament. There are no clear candidates for the prime minister of the next government.

President Ruutel will start negotiations to form a new government. The new government will be formed within two weeks. During that time, the current government will still sit.

Savisaar: Ruutel 'Only Possible Successor'

LD2301112492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Tallinn, 23 Jan (TASS)—Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council, is the only possible successor to the post of head of government. This was stated by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, who resigned this morning. Speaking at a session of the Supreme Council, he stressed that "the most important thing now is to maintain stability and calm in Estonia."

So the crisis of the present government, which last week obtained a majority of votes in the Supreme Council on the question of imposing a state of emergency in the economic sphere, has ended. However, over the last few days, deputies of many parliamentary factions— as well as the leadership of a number of parties, in particular the Social Democratic, Coalition, and Liberal Democratic Parties—have rejected confidence in Savisaar's government.

Today, the Estonian Supreme Council will continue discussion of the question of a settlement of the government crisis in the country.

Ministers on Resignation

OW2201213292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1942 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The Tallinn-based daily Ohtu Leht has quoted the leader of Edgar Savisaar's Popular-Centrist party Ignar Fiuk as saying that the Estonian parliament cannot form an anti-crisis commission and that political scheming prevails in the parliament's mood. On Tuesday [21 January] Mr. Fiuk said he was resigning as the leader of his party's faction in parliament. He told newsmen the decision to resign had entered his head a long time before the actual move and had nothing to do with the failure to forn the anti-crisis commission.

Estonian MP's [members of parliament] feel it will be impossible to form the commission, and Prime Minister Savisaar will have to resign, too.

Mr. Fiuk feels Savisaar's resignation will follow Thursday [23 January] morning the latest. The head of the Estonian Parliament Arnold Ruutel may succeed Edgar Savisaar as prime minister.

A day earlier the leader of the Estonian Social Democrats Marju Lauristin issued a statement for the press to stress Mr. Ruutel enjoyed exceptional influence in Estonian politics.

In an interview with BF [BALTFAX] three ministers of the present Estonian Government led by Edgar Savisaar who at the same time enter the Estonian Coalition Party stressed the need of the government's resignation.

On January 20 the Coalition Party urged the government "to immediately resign". The party believes an economic state of emergency imposed in Estonia has only aggravated the political and economic situation in the republic.

Minister of Labor and member of the Coalition Party Arvo Kuddo said "first and foremost, this is a conflict betveen Savisaar and the Supreme Council. The government is certain to resign within days."

Estonian Agriculture Minister Harry Ounapuu believes change of governments from time to time is a natural thing.

Transport Minister Tiit Vahi said "there is no way of working in such a manner any longer."

The Estonian Government is to hold a meeting behind closed doors, possibly the last one, on January 22 at 21:00.

According to unconfirmed reports, on January 23 a number of Estonian parliamentary factions will demand the vote of no-confidence to the Savisaar government.

Border Guards Confront Troops Over Convoy

PM2201140592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[By Leonid Levitskiy: "It Did Not Come to a Fight"]

[Text] Estonian border guards detained an 11-vehicle army convoy at the friendship bridge linking Estonia's Narva to Russia's Ivangorod.

The guards demanded documents for exit from Estonia and decided to inspect the loads. The military's response was to ring the vehicles with servicemen with assault rifles. The border guards immediately called for assistance from the Narva border special subunit....

The saber-rattling did not develop into an exchange of fire, thank goodness. Reason prevailed. The Narva border leaders contacted the border protection department and obtained authorization to let the convoy through.

Defense Chief Notes Problems in Forming Army

PM2201131592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 4

[Correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Vladimirov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Estonia Has a Main Staff, But No Army; One Draftee in Two Has Failed To Report to the Induction Center"]

[Text] Tallinn, 20 Jan—In an interview in the newspaper PAEVALEHT, Ante Laaneots, former Tartu military commissar and now acting chief of the Estonian Republic Defense Forces Main Staff, has described the reasons why it has been impossible to create an Estonian army to date. We are unable to start creating our own armed forces because the Estonian parliament has not begun the second reading of the law on military service, Laaneots said.

In addition to the lack of weapons, equipment, and military cadres, Laaneots is worried by the widespread pacifism in Estonia. Only one in two young men drafted for service has reported to the induction center. According to Laaneots, Estonia currently possesses only a Main Staff (around 30 men), officer courses (48 men), and a duty patrol. Last year 384 Estonian officers served in the USSR Armed Forces, but only a few have returned home.

Prime Minister Views Finland Visit Results

LD2201191892 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Interview with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by unidentified Estonian journalists in Tallinn on 22 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Savisaar] We had talks with Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho and with members of the Finnish Government, as well as with the Neste [Finnish national oil and gas company] firm. Quite a wide circle of subjects was discussed, including Esko Aho's visit to Tallinn and the agreements to be concluded here. We have prepared a free trade agreement as well as an agreement to protect and encourage investment.

As to when he arrives, it was agreed that the day will be 13 February.

Second, there was talk of several projects in progress which need a boost, starting with the idea of setting up a Baltic investment bank—by no means been buried, but the Nordic countries have their own disputed issues here— and ending with the building of the Via Baltica [road].

But, of course, one of the main issues was indeed our present energy crisis and the fact that Russia has not—as of today or perhaps yesterday—begun to dispatch fuel to us, despite all their promises and the agreements that have been concluded. We have drawn up emergency plans against such an eventuality to ensure that we will not have to go without fuel, and we have (?pulled out one of those): We will borrow 100,000 tonnes of fuel oil from Neste, which we plan to pay for through those agreements or to repay with the fuel covered by the agreements we have concluded with Russia. This is covered in our agreements, and we would like to repay Neste in the summer. For its part, Finland has produced guarantees for the agreement, and we assume that the first consignment will arrive early next week by sea. [passage omitted]

Taiwan Visit Canceled After PRC Protests

OW2101194692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1847 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] According to unofficial sources in the Estonian Government quarters, Estonian Premier Edgar Savisaar will not visit Taiwan in view of the protests expressed by China and the Estonian parliament's Commission for Foreign Relations.

On January 20, the delegation which was led by Mr. Mehis Pilv, Director-General of the Estonian Foreign Trade Department, and which had been preparing the premier's visit, returned from Taiwan.

Mr. Pilv told BF [BALTFAX] that Taiwan was willing to do business with Estonia and purchase some of the Estonian know-how.

"Taiwan would like to invest in Estonia's computer industry and bio-engineering," he said.

Latvia

Parliament Rejects 1944 Land 'Annexation'

LD2301001192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2234 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 22 Jan (TASS)—The Latvian parliament today adopted a decision "On the Non-Recognition of the Annexation of the Town of Abrene and Six Volosts of Abrene Uyezd." The 1944 documents transferring this territory, which is today part of the Pytalovskiy Rayon of Russia's Pskov Oblast, are regarded as having lapsed. The parliament confirmed adherence to the borders established under the 1920 treaty with Russia, when this area of territory, through which a railway branch line linking two Latvian towns passed, was handed to the republic. It is intended to raise the territorial question at interstate talks.

Gorbunovs on Russian Relations, Ethnic Problems

OW2201182992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1452 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Parliament leader Anatoliy Gorbunovs has said that relations beteen Russia and Latvia "must be very good theoretically, because both sides are interested in that".

Gorbunovs said in an interview that Latvia was going to offer Russia the most favoured nation status in shipping and other transit East-West and West-East deliveries. In turn, the republic is interested in fuels and raw materials.

At the same time Gorbunovs said that the economic treaty concluded with Russia hadn't begun to work yet, because "Russia's government structures are in chaos".

About the political aspect of relations between the two countries, the Latvian parliament's leader said that "there were no serious contradictions that would hinder cooperation. About Latvia's foreign policy Gorbunovs said that in the first place Latvia would develop relations with Nordic countries. Gorbunovs said that at the first session of the Baltic Assembly on January 21 will decide the question of the admission of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in the Nordic Council.

About inter-ethnic problems in the republic Gorbunovs said that "those who have become partially integrated in the republic, been living in it for a long time and know the official (Latvian) language, will be able to develop their parallel culture and autonomy here in Latvia". However, the leader of parliament said that most Russian-speaking people in Latvia did not know the Latvian language and [are] reluctant to become integrated in that environment. He believes that for that reason they may have problems. In his view the surest way out is to come to the negotiating table.

About the republican economy Gorbunovs said that the "process of privatization, including the uncertainty whether property should be returned to their former owners is the most painful for Latvia.

Gorbunovs Asks West To Aid Troop Withdrawal

LD2301114192 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2130 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Latvia's President, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, has called on Western European countries to use their military budgets to finance the former Soviet troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. A delegation of the Western European Union, an organization coordinating defense policies in Western Europe, has today arrived in Latvia on a one-day fact-finding mission. The delegation, led by its secretary general, Van Eekelen, met the chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

The Latvian side informed about the lack of progress of the former Soviet troops withdrawal from Latvia. Provided Western European countries spend one percent, a mere one percent of their military budgets to carry out troop withdrawals from the Baltics, they would significantly improve the security situation on the continent as a whole, Mr. Gorbunovs said addressing the delegation.

The Latvian side received an invitation to participate in a meeting of defense ministers of western and eastern European countries in Helsinki in March.

Godmanis on Food-for-Fuel Swaps With Army

PM2001133392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Unidentified RIA correspondent report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ivars Godmanis: We Will Give the Army Food, and the Army Will Give Us Fuel"]

[Text] Riga—"We will give the Army food and it will give us fuel,"—this is how Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, formulated the model for relations between the Latvian Republic Government and Army units of the former Soviet Union stationed on the territory of the republic, in conversation with an RIA correspondent. He noted that "the Army of occupation must be withdrawn from Latvia and from the entire Baltic region," but added that "while the Army is here, we must have contacts with it." Godmanis said that the former Soviet Army in Latvia is being fully supplied with Latvian provisions. So far it has allocated only 60 tonnes of gasoline and 105 tonnes of diesel fuel from its reserves for the republic's needs, although it had promised "much more." The prime minister described the Army as one of the channels through which the cabinet expects to "get fuel for the republic."

Godmanis noted that after the USSR's disintegration, it is not entirely clear with whom negotiations should be conducted on the withdrawal of the Army. "However, during conversations both in Moscow and with the command authority of the troops here in Riga, we proceed from the premise that this is Russia's Army, and negotiations should be held with the Russian government," he added.

Krastins Receives List of Alleged KGB Agents

PM2101150992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report: "Shadow of KGB Over Latvian Parliament"]

[Text] A. Krastins, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, stated at a Presidium session that he had received an anonymous letter with photocopies of lists of people who had cooperated with the KGB.

Well known politicians were named among the agents. The letterwriter said that he was a former operative with the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB. He stated that he had photocopies of the KGB card index. A. Krastins stated his attitude to the items he had received: In his opinion, 80 percent of them were falsified and the aim was blackmail.

At the initiative of several deputies, the KGB card index was transferred to the Supreme Council building two months ago and is stored in a safe in a room at parliament. It is reported that the safe has not yet been opened: It has not been decided who should be entrusted with these "explosive" documents. Deputy Vilis Seletskis [name as transliterated], chairman of the KGB Property Acquisition Commission, proposed that a special commission be set up to take an inventory of the card index. Familiarity with the materials is needed, in his opinion, in order to be "confident that former KGB workers do not gain leading positions under the influence of an alien and hostile force." In the interstate talks with Russia V. Seletskis considers it necessary to raise the issue of returning to Latvia all Latvian SSR KGB documents, including the complete card index of agents and lists of operatives: "We need the card index in order to clarify the past of people nominated for senior positions."

A number of Latvian parliamentary deputies drew attention to the fact that the USSR KGB freely bequeathed to Latvia equipment housed in a special building for secretly monitoring citizens. It has become known that of late several foreign delegations of specialists have familiarized themselves with this "legacy." Their visits to the republic were not publicized. Democratically minded deputies intend to protest the possible restoration in Latvia of the compromised system of monitoring the population.

Customs To Check Military Transports at Border

LD2301120792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 23 Jan 92

[Text] Latvian customs will now be checking all military transport which crosses the borders of the republic. Navy ships, military aircraft, and servicemens' personal luggage will also be checked. Only self-propelled [samokhodnaya] equipment and sealed secret cargo which has the relevant documents are exempt from being checked.

Defense Plants Continue Production Conversion

OW2201234292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1942 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A BF [BALTFAX] correspondent in Riga says a commission under the Latvian government continues moves to make the military facilities on Latvian territory Latvian property.

It has already handed defense plant 29 in Liepaja over to the Ministry of the Economy, a defense plant in Daugavpils—to the local government, and a plant that used to repair tanks in Riga—to the Ministry of the Industries.

The Chief Manager of the plant in Riga, Colonel Ignas Zhakis, says his plant is still turning out military production. But defense orders have dropped 30 percent this year and a half of its production is oriented for civilian use. The plant will soon produce streetcars.

Another defense plant in the Latvian capital, ARSENAL, is also converting to civilian production. Its head engineer Lieutenant Colonel Nadyuk says half of its production is consumer goods. That plant is about to produce agricultural equipment.